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The SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

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THE PUBLIC CHARITIES OF NEW YORK: THE RISE OF STATE SUPERVISION AFTER THE CIVIL WAR¹

DAVID M. SCHNEIDER AND ALBERT DEUTSCH

THE quarter-century following the Civil War was a period of rapid expansion in New York State. Population increased at the rate of about a million people each decade. In 1865 it totaled 3,831,777; by 1890 it was nearly six million. The immigrant flow continued unchecked, greatly enriching the labor resources of the state and keeping pace with the advance of industrialism. At the beginning of the Civil War the majority of New York's population was agricultural, only 44 per cent of the total living in urban districts. By 1890 the situation was reversed, the urban population comprising 60 per cent of the total. New York City was one of the three greatest commercial and industrial centers of the world; Buffalo had won the distinction of being the world's largest grain center; Albany, Rochester, Syracuse, Troy, Utica, Binghamton, Elmira, and Yonkers were growing in importance as flourishing manufacturing and commercial cities.

This rapid process of industrial expansion had its negative as well as its positive aspects. A case in point was the long economic depres-

¹ This article is a chapter from a forthcoming volume, *The History of Public Welfare in New York State, 1867-1940*, by David M. Schneider and Albert Deutsch, to be published in May, 1941, as one of the "Social Service Monographs" by the University of Chicago Press.

sion of the 1870's, with its consequent misery, suffering, and dependency. The changing economic pattern deeply affected the public welfare system of the state. Among other things, the new order made increasing centralization of public administrative processes imperative. Other factors in the trend toward centralization had already been manifest for years. The number of welfare institutions and agencies were increasing rapidly. The Civil War years had witnessed a particularly marked advance, notably in the erection of orphanages for children of deceased soldiers. State grants to these institutions were mounting to impressive figures.

The creation of a state supervisory body was neither sudden nor unprecedented but was rather a logical culmination of a tendency going back many years. A significant move toward state supervision was the passage of a law in 1827 requiring local poor relief officials to submit annual reports to the secretary of state. Such reports, containing statistical information comprehensive in scope but generally so unreliable as to be almost valueless, continued to be sent to the secretary of state until 1896. Another important milestone was the establishment in 1847 of the State Board of Commissioners of Emigration, vested with administrative and supervisory powers relative to the care and support of indigent and sick immigrants throughout New York. Needy immigrants were helped either by the commissioners of emigration or by local authorities reimbursed by the state.

In an important report made in 1857 by the senate committee of inquiry into public institutions, the enactment of a law had been recommended providing for "a more efficient and constant supervision of all the charitable and reformatory institutions which participate in the public bounty, or are supported by taxation; and a commission of well qualified persons, to be appointed by the governor and senate, with such arrangement of the terms of service as will constantly secure experience."² An act embodying this suggestion was introduced in the legislature in the same year but failed of passage.

Subsequent efforts to establish a state supervisory body in the

² New York State Senate Select Committee To Visit the Charitable and Penal Institutions of the State, "Report," *Senate Documents* (80th sess. [Albany, 1857]), Vol. I, Doc. 8, p. 22.

social welfare field also proved unsuccessful until 1867, when the need for it became so obvious that appropriate action could no longer be delayed.

A STATE SUPERVISORY BOARD ESTABLISHED

Governor Reuben E. Fenton's annual message to the legislature on January 2, 1867, declared:

For some years past the State has made large annual appropriations to aid in the support of Orphan Asylums, Hospitals, Homes for the Friendless and other charitable institutions. No adequate provision, however, has been made by law for the inspection of these and other corporations of a like character, holding their charters under the State, or for any effectual inquiry into their operations and management. There are a great number of these institutions, and the amount contributed for their support by public authorities and by public benevolence is large, and so many persons—the aged, the helpless, the infirm and the young—fall under their care, that I deem it expedient that the State should exercise a reasonable degree of supervision over them.³

Governor Fenton proposed the appointment of an unpaid board of commissioners consisting of men of high character imbued with the spirit of public service. Touching on a subject close to the hearts of his contemporaries, he suggested that such a board could ascertain whether adequate provision was being made "for the destitute children of soldiers who perished in the war for the Union" and that it could devise a plan for extending better support to this "deserving class" if necessary.

Acting on the governor's recommendation the legislature on May 23, 1867, passed a law providing for the appointment by the governor of a Board of State Commissioners of Public Charities.⁴ This board was to consist of eight unsalaried members—one from each judicial district in the state—serving revolving terms of eight years. The act directed the commissioners to visit and inspect at least once annually all charitable and correctional institutions receiving state aid except prisons and each public almshouse at least once every two years. Full power was accorded the Board to inquire into the management and financial and physical condition of all institutions

³ New York State Governors, *Messages from the Governors* (Albany, 1909), V, 760-61.

⁴ The first state board of charities had been organized in Massachusetts in 1863.

under its supervision and to examine witnesses under oath while conducting investigations. In supervising state-aided institutions the commissioners were specifically instructed to ascertain whether state grants were being economically and judiciously expended; whether the stated objects of the several institutions were being carried out; and whether all parts of the state were equally benefiting by their operation. An annual report was to be submitted by the Board to the legislature—containing the results of its investigations together with other appropriate information and recommendations. Appointment of a clerk by the Board was authorized in the organic act.⁵

At the State Constitutional Convention of 1867–68 the committee on charities and charitable institutions submitted an article intended to establish the existing Board of Public Charities as a constitutional body, but this proposal met vigorous opposition and it was lost by being tabled.⁶ The religious issue played a prominent part in the defeat of the measure, opponents arguing that inequality of religious representation on the Board might lead to favoritism toward charitable institutions controlled by one particular denomination at the expense of others. It was also argued that the existing Board was still in an experimental stage and had not yet proved its title to permanency and that the granting of constitutional status to the Board might take away some of the legislature's powers. The Board's permanence was not assured by constitutional sanction until thirty years later.

The eight members of the first Board of State Commissioners of Public Charities were appointed by Governor Fenton in June, 1867. In the order of the judicial districts from which they were chosen, the commissioners were: James K. Place, Harvey G. Eastman, John V. L. Pruyn, Edward W. Foster, Theodore W. Dwight, Samuel F. Miller, Martin B. Anderson, and Charles M. Crandall. At the first meeting of the Board, held in July, Pruyn was elected president and Dwight vice-president. Both men were prominent in the social wel-

⁵ *Laws of New York, 1867*, c. 951.

⁶ New York State Constitutional Convention, 1867–1868, *Proceedings and Debates* (Albany, 1868), IV, 2710–54; Charles Z. Lincoln, *Constitutional History of New York* (Rochester, 1906), II, 390–96.

fare field in the state and both had taken an active part in the movement leading to the Board's establishment. Henry C. Lake was appointed as clerk to the Board but resigned shortly afterward. He was succeeded by Dr. Charles S. Hoyt, a physician with a varied background, who had served in the medical corps of the Union Army during the Civil War. Later he became a member of the state legislature, where he was one of the active promoters of the bill establishing the Board.

POORHOUSE PROBLEMS

Owing to the illness of some of its members and to the death of one of them little work was accomplished by the Board during its first year of existence, but much activity is reflected in its *Second Annual Report*, for the year 1868. Dr. Hoyt made a personal inspection of many of the county and city almshouses that year, and his report on these institutions disclosed conditions almost as bad as those revealed by the senate investigating committee's report of 1857. Most of the buildings were poorly constructed; many were out of repair. Few had proper accommodations for sick inmates, who usually shared the same rooms with the able-bodied. In fact, little classification of any kind was visible—a condition defended by some poor law officials on the ground that in most counties the number of paupers in the poorhouse was too small to justify the expense of providing separate buildings or other facilities for the various classes of inmates. Thus persons suffering contagious diseases mingled freely with the well; often the insane were not separated from the sane, while children occupied the same rooms as adults—among whom vagrants were included.⁷

Overcrowding was general, and institutional officers were frequently appointed not so much for their ability as for their political affiliation. In the Allegany County almshouse, according to the Board's report, "Nearly all of the buildings are more or less dilapidated. Most of the rooms are small and ill arranged, are without proper ventilation, and no provision for bathing has ever been made. . . . A large number of the inmates presented a sickly appearance, attributable, without doubt, to the want of pure air." Among the

⁷ New York State Board of Commissioners of Public Charities, *Second Annual Report* [1868] (Albany, 1869), Appen., "Report of Secretary," *passim*.

eighty-five inmates of the Broome County poorhouse at the time of inspection there were twenty-one children, fifteen insane, and ten feeble-minded persons occupying buildings described as "old and considerably out of repair." More than one-third of the Cattaraugus County poorhouse inmates were mentally handicapped. A severe form of dysentery, attributable to the insanitary condition of the institution, had taken a toll of twelve lives out of eighteen cases. The buildings of the Clinton County almshouse were "all out of repair, with floors and walls broken, and roof in a leaky condition." Water had to be brought from a spring in the highway sixteen rods away. Insane and feeble-minded inmates were used as water carriers, and the inspector noted that nearly all of these were filthy in their habits. So ran the dreary record, with occasional exceptions such as the institutions in Erie, Jefferson, and Westchester counties, where the care of the poor was considered good.⁸

The plight of the insane in poorhouses was particularly wretched. The Board's report for 1868 showed that there were 3,116 insane persons in county and city almshouses or asylums, as compared with only 680 at the only state hospital (Utica) then in operation and 550 in corporate and private hospitals. Dr. Hoyt pointed out that even with the completion of the Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane at Ovid and of the Hudson River State Hospital at Poughkeepsie their combined accommodations could absorb only about one-third of the insane who lacked proper provision.⁹ In making the round of county poorhouses Dr. Hoyt often found mentally ill inmates imprisoned in outhouses and cellars, chained to the floors, lying naked on straw, and plastered with filth. Rarely was any kind of medical aid afforded these unfortunates.

In its report for 1868 the Board urged that its power of supervision, which was then restricted to institutions under public control or receiving state aid, should be extended to all charitable enterprises whether or not in receipt of state funds. It also recommended that greater uniformity be attained in the management of state institutions administered by boards of trustees, that such boards be chosen without regard to political affiliation, that no trustee or manager should be directly or indirectly interested in the purchase of institu-

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 82, 84-85, 86-87, 92-93.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

tional supplies, and that no state appropriation be made to charitable agencies without the approval of the Board.¹⁰

The same report disclosed that one hundred and seventy-seven private charitable institutions were receiving state grants and hence were subject to visitation and inspection by the Board. These comprised seventy-eight orphanages and homes for the friendless, twenty hospitals, twenty-one dispensaries, and fifty-eight charity weekday schools.¹¹

EARLY ACTIVITIES OF THE BOARD

While the Board had no power to act directly in correcting abuses in welfare institutions, the publicity given to its exposures had a wholesome effect—frequently resulting in remedial action by the localities. Its reports to the legislature were effective aids in awakening legislators and the general public to conditions requiring correction. Furthermore, institutional officials, aware of the Board's influence in determining legislative appropriations, were stimulated to make improvements suggested in these reports.

One of the early achievements of the Board was the formulation of a standard method of reporting for charitable institutions in the state. Before the Board's establishment no such uniformity existed. Some institutions reported to the legislature, others to county or municipal authorities, and still others filed no report at all. The scattered reports that were made varied widely in their presentation of statistical data and were never brought together, so that neither the legislature nor the general public was ever properly informed as to the nature and extent of the welfare work being carried on at public expense. In order to prevent abuses in the financial management of institutions, to protect the state against fraud, and to introduce greater economy in the purchase of supplies, the Board worked out a standard plan for institutional returns that included such items as the property value of the several institutions, a classified record of annual receipts and expenditures, and the number and classification of beneficiaries. The data thus submitted were carefully analyzed and tabulated, serving as the basis for the Board's own reports to the legislature.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. lxxxix, xli, xlix.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Appen., pp. 211-12.

From the start the Board displayed much interest in the condition of the mentally handicapped. Realizing that accurate information was needed to obtain ameliorative legislation, the Board, in 1871, conducted a census of the insane and feeble-minded in this state. The census showed that there were 6,775 insane residents of New York, of whom 1,582 were in the custody of friends, 1,093 in state hospitals, 312 in private mental hospitals, 3,552 in local almshouses and asylums, 75 in the State Lunatic Asylum for Insane Convicts at Auburn, and 161 in institutions of other states. Statistics on the feeble-minded were very incomplete, according to the report of the Board's secretary, Dr. Hoyt, who estimated that there were 2,312 "idiots"—a term then used in a generic sense to cover all grades of feeble-mindedness—of whom 1,556 were in the custody of friends, 137 in the State Asylum for Idiots at Syracuse, and 619 in local almshouses and asylums.¹²

Among the proposals submitted by the State Constitutional Commission of 1872-73 was one which had an important effect on social welfare developments. It consisted of a constitutional amendment prohibiting the granting of financial aid by the state to any private institution or agency, except those engaged in the education and support of the blind, the deaf, and juvenile delinquents. This amendment was approved by the legislature in 1873 and adopted by the people in November, 1874.¹³ For many years the question of state aid to private organizations had been debated in legislative chambers and constitutional conventions. Meanwhile the extent of state support to private charitable enterprises had been steadily increasing. In 1871 the state treasury paid out \$180,862 in special grants to 106 orphan asylums and homes for the friendless, and an additional \$123,646 in general appropriations to these institutions made on a per capita basis. In 1872, the last year in which state aid was given to private charitable institutions, a total of \$329,283 in special grants and \$124,689 in general appropriations was paid out by the state to 108 institutions of this kind.¹⁴

¹² New York State Board of Commissioners of Public Charities, *Sixth Annual Report* [1872] (Albany, 1873), Appen., pp. 77, 79-80.

¹³ Lincoln, *op. cit.*, pp. 552, 557.

¹⁴ New York State Comptroller, *Annual Report* [1871] (Albany, 1872), pp. 59-62; [1872] (Albany, 1873), pp. 73-80.

FOUNDING OF THE STATE CHARITIES AID ASSOCIATION

A unique organization destined to exert a powerful influence on public welfare developments in this state was founded in 1872. During the preceding year Louisa Lee Schuyler—a young woman who had displayed marked executive ability in Civil War relief work—made a series of inspections of the Westchester County poorhouse, accompanied by her sister Georgina. Impressed by the usefulness of regular visits made by residents to local tax-supported institutions, Miss Schuyler conceived the idea of first forming a visiting committee for Westchester County and then extending the organization to counties throughout the state, under the direction of a central body located in New York City. Putting her plan into execution, she called a meeting of leading citizens which resulted in the organization, May 11, 1872, of the State Charities Aid Association. The objects of the new society, as stated in its constitution, were: "1st. To promote an active public interest in the New York State Institutions of Public Charities, with a view to the physical, mental and moral improvement of their pauper inmates. 2nd. To make the present pauper system more efficient, and to bring about such reforms in it as may be in accordance with the most enlightened views of Christianity, Science and Philanthropy."¹⁵

In view of Miss Schuyler's active interest in social service, it is reasonable to suppose that she learned about the work of Louisa Twining in England. Miss Twining had been visiting English workhouses since 1853, and in 1858 she had been mainly instrumental in founding the Workhouse Visiting Society, an organization built on very much the same idea as that which led to the creation of the State Charities Aid Association.¹⁶ At any rate the general aims of the association in New York were to be accomplished mainly through the organization of local voluntary committees to insure frequent and systematic visitations of public charitable institutions in their respective communities. The active interest of the most enlightened citizens was to be enlisted in this cause as a nucleus for the mobilization of public opinion in favor of desirable reforms. Central headquarters of the S.C.A.A. were to be located in New York City.

¹⁵ State Charities Aid Association, New York, *First Annual Report to the State Commissioners of Public Charities, March 1, 1873* (Pub. No. 2; New York, 1873), p. 30.

¹⁶ Louisa Twining, *Workhouses and Pauperism* (London, 1898), pp. 3, 55.

Its chief functions were: to organize visiting committees; to recommend to the proper authorities, from time to time, improvements in public welfare that might seem desirable on the basis of the reports received from local committees; and to disseminate useful information on subjects connected with public welfare.¹⁷

It was the express intention of the association to co-operate closely with the Board of State Commissioners of Public Charities, and its constitution specified that annual reports should be submitted to that body. At the founding meeting Theodore W. Dwight, then vice-president of the Board, was elected the first president of the association, symbolizing the co-operative approach of the new society.¹⁸ Its founder, Louisa Lee Schuyler, was named vice-president. A few years later the association gave to the Board Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, who served it with great distinction. Mrs. Lowell, a close friend of Miss Schuyler and an active worker in the S.C.A.A. from its founding, was appointed in 1876 as the first woman member of the Board by Governor Samuel J. Tilden, who had been impressed by a brilliant paper on public relief presented by Mrs. Lowell before a meeting of the association. Theodore Roosevelt, father of the president of the same name, was a member of the Board and a vice-president of the S.C.A.A. at the time of his death in 1878.

The founding of the S.C.A.A. was welcomed by the Board as a step in the right direction. From the beginning it had deplored the lack of public interest in the affairs of charitable institutions, attributing the persistence of many abuses to this indifference. As early as 1868 it had declared: "Public opinion in the counties must be aroused to the abuses of the present system. The prevailing apathy, as it seems to us, is due to a general want of knowledge of the subject or else to a conviction that nothing effectual can be done under existing legislation."¹⁹

One of the early achievements of the S.C.A.A. was the establish-

¹⁷ State Charities Aid Association, *Address . . . to Its Local Visiting Committees throughout the State of New York, July, 1880* (Pub. No. 24; New York, n.d.).

¹⁸ The pressure of other duties forced Dwight in 1873 to resign his office in both the Board of State Commissioners of Public Charities and the Association, although he remained a member of the latter organization and later served as its vice-president.

¹⁹ New York State Board of Commissioners of Public Charities, *Second Annual Report* [1868], p. lxxiv.

ment, through its efforts, of the first American training school for nurses at Bellevue Hospital—then known as the “great pauper institution” of New York City. The association gave effective co-operation to the movement leading to the passage of chapter 173, *Laws of 1875*, “An Act to provide for the better care of pauper and destitute children,” popularly known as the “children’s law” of 1875.

POWERS OF BOARD EXPANDED

Two important statutes affecting the state public welfare system were enacted in 1873. Chapter 571 of the laws of that year²⁰ defined as well as extended the powers and duties of the Board. Whereas the organic act of 1867 had limited its supervision to institutions receiving state aid and to public almshouses the law of 1873 authorized it to visit and inspect “any charitable, eleemosynary, correctional or reformatory institution in this State, excepting prisons, whether receiving state aid or maintained by municipalities or otherwise.” This extended the supervisory powers of the Board to all public and private welfare institutions, whether in receipt of state funds or not. This right was challenged on several occasions, and it was not until 1938 that it was clearly and unequivocally established by constitutional sanction.

The act of 1873 also specifically authorized the Board to visit and inspect all institutions for the care, treatment, or detention of the insane. No such institution was thereafter to be established or operated without obtaining a license from the Board, a requirement marking a great advance in the protection of the mentally ill. So important was this subject considered by the framers of the statute that they provided for the appointment by the governor of a state commissioner in lunacy, who was directed to examine and report on the condition of the insane and feeble-minded and the management of institutions for their care, treatment, and custody, and to collect material on the treatment of the mentally handicapped in other states and countries. The commissioner in lunacy was to serve as an ex officio member of the State Board of Charities, to whom he was to

²⁰ “An Act further to define the powers and duties of the board of state commissioners of public charities, and to change the name of the board to The State Board of Charities.”

submit reports at regular intervals. His term of office was fixed at five years at an annual salary of four thousand dollars. In all cases coming under his jurisdiction he was empowered to issue compulsory process for the attendance of witnesses, to administer oaths, and to examine persons under oath, thus enjoying the same authority in this respect as that conferred upon the State Board of Charities.

Mindful of the popular suspicion engendered by current tales of mentally sound persons being "railroaded" to lunatic asylums by scheming relatives, friends, or enemies, and of brutal treatment of patients, the lawmakers specifically provided that whenever information reached the Board or the commissioner giving them reason to believe that any person was being unjustly deprived of his liberty by detention in a mental hospital, or that he was improperly treated therein, the commissioner was to investigate the charges and report his findings to the Board without delay.²¹

Dr. John Ordronaux, a well-known lawyer and physician, who was then professor of medical jurisprudence at Columbia University, was appointed as the first state commissioner in lunacy, serving in that post until 1882.

The same statute (*Laws of New York*, 1873, c. 571) gave the Board the power to appoint three or more persons in any county to act as visitors to the local poorhouses and other institutions subject to its supervision, excepting those having boards of managers appointed by the state. All such visitors were to have the right to inspect the premises of institutions and the condition of their inmates.

This section of the act had an interesting origin. It grew out of a controversy between the State Charities Aid Association and the Westchester County superintendents of the poor due to the latter's

²¹ An act of 1874 consolidating the laws relating to the insane included an important section prohibiting the commitment to or confinement in an institution for the insane, public or private, of any person without a certificate of insanity signed by two reputable physicians. No person could be confined in such an institution more than five days without the certificate of insanity being approved by a judge or justice of record in the county or district of the patient's residence (*Laws of New York*, 1874, c. 446). Previously county judges or superintendents of the poor had been permitted to commit patients without the certificates of physicians. This was one of the earliest measures protecting the rights of persons against improper commitment or confinement.

refusal to permit the association's local visiting committee to inspect the county poorhouse. At that time, be it remembered, the association lacked legal authority to visit public institutions, having to depend on the co-operation of the local officials to carry on its tasks. A bill was thereupon framed by Dorman B. Eaton, chairman of the S.C.A.A. committee on legislation, which was approved by the Board of State Commissioners of Public Charities. It was submitted to the legislature and, with some modifications, became chapter 571, *Laws of New York, 1873*—the statute previously mentioned. The section vitally concerning the S.C.A.A. was that empowering the Board to appoint local visitors to poorhouses and other institutions under its supervision. An agreement had been reached by the Board and the association that the latter's visitors should be selected by the Board if the bill became law, and this arrangement was carried out, solving the problem of the legal status of the S.C.A.A. visitors in Westchester and other counties.²² In 1880 the Board issued an order ending this arrangement. Chapter 323, *Laws of New York, 1881*, was thereupon enacted, conferring upon the S.C.A.A. the power to visit and inspect all county, city, and town almshouses. The power to appoint S.C.A.A. visitors was placed in the hands of supreme court justices of the several judicial districts.

Several weeks after the passage of chapter 571, *Laws of New York, 1873*, the legislature passed "An Act to provide for the support and care of State paupers." This statute defined a state pauper as an applicant for relief "who is blind, lame, old, impotent or decrepit, or in any other way disabled or enfeebled, so as to be unable by work to maintain himself . . . and who shall not have resided sixty days in any county of this State within one year preceding the time of such application." All such persons were to be supported and relieved at state expense. The State Board of Charities was authorized to contract with not more than five counties or cities for the reception and maintenance of these dependents in almshouses or "other suitable buildings," and to establish rules and regulations for their discipline, employment, treatment, care, transfer, and discharge.²³ All

²² State Charities Aid Association, *Second Annual Report to the State Board of Charities, March 1, 1874* (Pub. No. 5; New York, 1874), pp. 11-12.

²³ This section was amended by c. 464, *Laws of New York, 1874*, which increased the limit to fifteen almshouses instead of five.

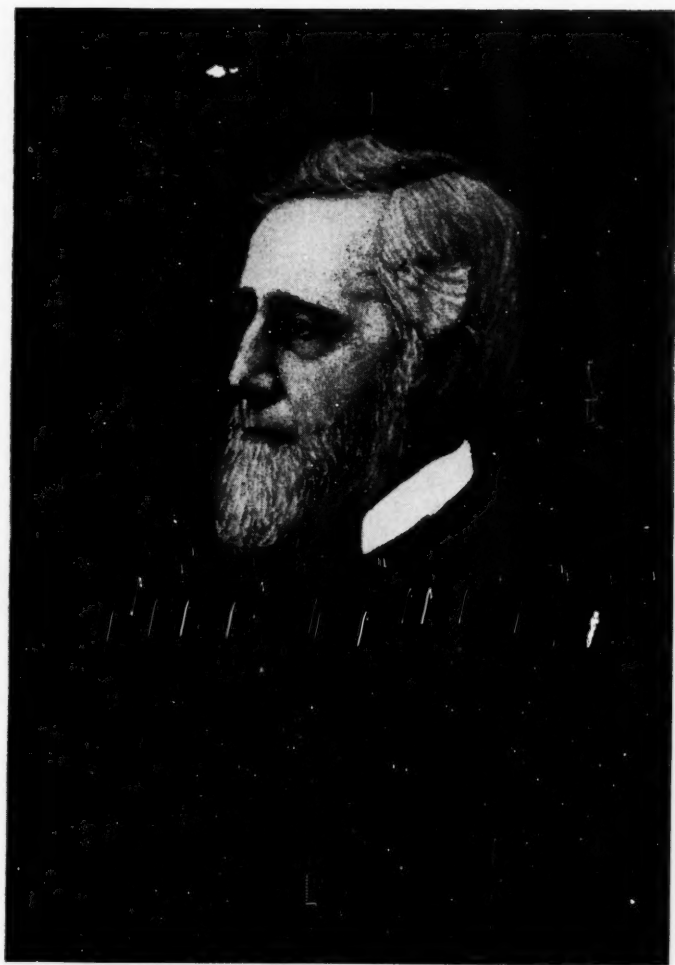
institutions under contract to receive state paupers were to be designated as state almshouses and were to be visited and inspected by the Board's secretary at least once every three months, in addition to the usual visits of the Board or its representatives. State paupers who were mentally unsound and children under ten years of age could be transferred from a state almshouse to state hospitals and orphan asylums, respectively, upon order of the Board's secretary. The latter could also bind out any dependent child who was deemed a state charge.

An important section of the act authorized the secretary to remove any state pauper "expressing a preference to be sent to any state or country where said pauper may have a legal settlement or friends, willing to support or to aid in supporting him," if the state's interest and the pauper's welfare would appear to be promoted by such removal. All cases of removal were to be fully reported to the Board.²⁴ Any state pauper leaving a state almshouse before being duly discharged and then found soliciting alms in any city or town of the state was liable to three months' imprisonment in the county jail or workhouse.

Greatly strengthened by the legislation of 1873, the State Board of Charities embarked on an ambitious program for improving social welfare in New York. The happy appointment during this year of William Pryor Letchworth as a member of the Board representing the eighth judicial district proved a stimulating factor. Letchworth, a Quaker merchant who had retired in 1869 to devote himself completely to philanthropic work, exhibited a rare talent in this field and made many valuable contributions during his twenty-three years of membership on the Board, ten of which (1878-88) he served as its president. The Board as a whole during those early years was imbued with a remarkably progressive spirit and was in the forefront of many reform movements in poor law administration.

An active interest was shown by the Board in the condition of children in the catchall almshouses, and Commissioner Letchworth was delegated to make a state-wide survey of this problem. His masterly reports on the subject were mainly instrumental in obtaining

²⁴ *Laws of New York, 1873, c. 661.*



Wm. Lyon Letchworth

the passage of the children's law of 1875, providing for the removal from poorhouses of all normal children over three years of age.

INQUIRY INTO CAUSES OF PAUPERISM

It was but natural that the Board's policy, which was generally progressive, should lead it to intensive studies of the causes and prevention of dependency. At its request the legislature in 1873 adopted a concurrent resolution directing it to undertake an inquiry into the "causes of the increase in crime, pauperism and insanity."²⁵ Unfortunately, the legislature neglected to make an appropriation for this rather ambitious enterprise, and the sum of three thousand dollars which was voted the following year was far too small to finance the project adequately.²⁶ Because of its limited funds and resources the Board decided to restrict its inquiry to the subject of pauperism and delegated its secretary, Dr. Hoyt, to make a personal examination of all almshouses in the state and their inmates with a view toward determining, as far as possible, the causes leading to increased pauperism. In the course of the inquiry each of the sixty-four public almshouses in the state was visited. These comprised fifty-six county poorhouses, six city institutions (including New York City and Brooklyn), and two town poorhouses (both located in Queens County). Hamilton and Schuyler counties had neither an almshouse nor any other institution for dependents. In all there were 12,614 inmates in public almshouses. Those in the six city almshouses totaled more than the combined population of the fifty-six county institutions. Nearly one-third of the total number were insane.

In connection with the inquiry an elaborate schedule containing sixty questions was drawn up for the purpose of obtaining a complete history of each inmate. Among the items of information sought were:

Name, sex, age, color, birthplace and birthplaces of the parents of each person, the age at which they [sic] became dependent, the time they had been in poor-houses, asylums or other charitable institutions, their education, early discipline, industrial training, habits and occupation; the condition of their ancestors and near relatives, going back two generations; the degree of disabil-

²⁵ *Ibid.*, "Concurrent Resolution," p. 1408. ²⁶ *Laws of New York, 1874*, c. 323.

ity existing and the bodily and mental states connected therewith, and also as to the probable future of the person, respecting recovery from the cause of dependence.²⁷

It was hoped that by means of this schedule "as complete a record as possible of the life of each person from birth to the time of the examination" could be made. In conducting the survey for the Board, Hoyt was immediately struck by an appalling lack of system in almshouse records. Record-keeping in most institutions was confined to a general register bearing little more information than the name, sex, and age of the persons admitted. No uniform system existed.

In view of this situation the Board, in its annual report for 1874, recommended passage of a law requiring that a uniform system of record-keeping be employed by every almshouse in the state. The legislature responded promptly by enacting chapter 140, *Laws of New York, 1875*, directing each almshouse to keep, in addition to a general register of the inmates, "a record as to the sex, age, birth-place, birth of parents, education, habits, occupation, condition of ancestors and family relations, and the cause of dependence of each person at the time of admission, with such other facts and particulars in relation thereto as may be required by the State Board of Charities, upon forms prescribed and furnished by said board." A comprehensive form for case histories was thereupon framed by the Board, and a new stage in the development of record-keeping was thereby attained.²⁸

Secretary Hoyt completed the survey in 1875 and submitted his 244-page report on "The Causes of Pauperism" to the State Board of Charities the following year. The report was based in large measure on unreliable information, and the statistics compiled by Dr. Hoyt show them to be weighted heavily in favor of preconceived notions. His opinions on the causes of pauperism were in harmony with the contemporary tendency to stress hereditary factors in the causation

²⁷ Charles S. Hoyt, "The Causes of Pauperism," in New York State Board of Charities, *Tenth Annual Report* [1876] (Albany, 1877), pp. 97-98.

²⁸ New York State Board of Charities, *Ninth Annual Report* [1875] (Albany, 1876), pp. 14-15, 90.

of social ills. Dr. Hoyt's conclusions may be summed up as follows, largely in his own words:

Most causes of pauperism are due to idleness, improvidence, drunkenness or other forms of vicious indulgence which are frequently, if not universally, hereditary in character. Insufficient attention has been given to hereditary factors, and society must take positive measures to cope with them. Many families dependent on private charity seem to exist only to rear children like themselves. To keep such families together is contrary to sound policy; the sooner they can be separated and broken up, the better it will be for the children and for society at large. Vigorous efforts must be instituted to break the line of pauper descent.

Another fruitful cause of pauperism is the system of outdoor relief. Large numbers of dependents who were examined in the course of the survey had been trained and educated for the poorhouse by outdoor relief administered by public and private agencies. When persons, naturally idle and improvident, have experienced for a few months the convenience of existing upon the labor of others, they are very likely to resort to this means of living as often and as continuously as possible. In general, outdoor relief should be administered with maximum caution, and should be discontinued the instant the necessity for it has passed.

Defects in poorhouse management have contributed to the increase in pauperism. Old and young, chronic and temporary paupers have all been herded together, and the tendency has been to bring all down to the level of the lowest. The degrading association of children with adult paupers breaks down their self-respect and prepares them for a career of pauperism in later life.

Failure to provide prompt and adequate treatment for cases of sickness and insanity has also tended to increase the list of paupers. Many cases of acute mental diseases have become chronic and permanent public charges because immediate treatment was lacking. With a large segment of the population, chronic disease and pauperism are inseparable. Whatever tends then to promote health and secure careful treatment of disease wards off the occasion for charitable relief. Encouragement of temperance would also tend to diminish pauperism.

Still another evil that has contributed to the increase of paupers is the absence of employment for the inmates of poorhouses. Individuals forced to seek temporary shelter in such institutions through sickness or special distress become habituated to idleness and demoralization as a consequence of freedom from the cares of the day. When this attitude becomes fixed, the individual passes into the class of permanent paupers. Suitable labor, on the other hand, would make them conscious of their own power, which they would be unwilling to waste in the poorhouse, and which would impel them to leave at the earliest moment. Hard labor is especially necessary for the many vagabonds who drift into public poorhouses, particularly in the winter months.

Lack of restrictions against the inflow of poor immigrants is also a factor in the increase of pauperism. Many of the dependent foreigners in charitable institutions have been shipped to these shores from their native homes at parish expense in order to shift the burden of relieving them to American shoulders. A rigorous policy of removing such paupers to their native countries should be pursued.²⁹

Such were the opinions on the causes of pauperism set down in Hoyt's report, which ended with three major recommendations: (1) the removal of all mentally normal children over three years of age from poorhouses—a step that had already been taken through passage of the children's law of 1875; (2) establishment of a uniform system of almshouse records—which had also been provided for by a statute of 1875; and (3) greater discrimination in the administration of public relief generally.

It is significant that the Board in those early days constantly stressed the preventive aspect of its work and consciously directed its efforts toward this end. Reviewing its work of a preventative and ameliorative character during the first decade of activity, the Board in its annual report for 1879 pointed to its efforts to improve the condition of almshouses; to obtain proper medical attention for their sick inmates and to remove children and the mentally handicapped to institutions for their special care; to secure a uniform record-keeping system in poorhouses; to reform outdoor relief methods; to plan and promote useful and profitable labor for inmates in charitable and correctional institutions, and to improve the methods of relief and removal of the nonsettled poor.³⁰

INVESTIGATIONS OF INSTITUTIONS

Two important events affecting the work and status of the State Board of Charities occurred in 1877. One involved the Board's investigation into the affairs of a private agency, the other an investigation into a state institution. Upon receipt of complaints regarding the New York Juvenile Guardian Society (not to be confused with the New York Juvenile Asylum), the Board in 1872 had launched an inquiry into the management of that agency. Organized as a mis-

²⁹ Hoyt, "The Causes of Pauperism," *op. cit.*, pp. 287-92.

³⁰ New York State Board of Charities, *Twelfth Annual Report* [1878] (Albany, 1879), pp. 13-31.

sionary society in 1848 and incorporated in 1866, the Juvenile Guardian Society had as its stated purposes "providing instruction, homes, clothing, temporary board and other aids; and also for the opening of free Christian [not denominational] schools in destitute districts of the city of New York, for neglected children."³¹ At the time of investigation it was receiving substantial state grants-in-aid, as well as funds from the city. At the conclusion of its inquiry the Board recommended that the state refuse any further financial contributions to the agency, charging that its actual activities and needs did not coincide with its claims; that its expenses were disproportionate to results obtained; that it was being grossly mismanaged; and that the limited functions it was carrying out tended to harm the children under its care by encouraging them to avoid regular instruction in public schools.³² In accordance with this recommendation, state aid was refused to the agency in 1872 and 1873. The constitutional amendment of 1874 prohibiting the granting of state funds to any private organization naturally precluded any further aid from this source, although the society continued to receive appropriations from the city of New York.

In 1877 the State Board of Charities made a second investigation into the society's affairs. Besides visiting and inspecting its premises, the Board's investigating committee subpoenaed its officers, who refused to respond, holding that the Board lacked the right to subpoena. The investigation was continued, however, and a report repeating in substance the criticisms of 1872 was submitted in March, 1877, together with a recommendation that the attorney general should take steps to revoke the society's charter.³³ The society thereupon brought court action against the Board on various grounds—the principal one being the aforementioned denial of its

³¹ New York Juvenile Guardian Society, *Seventeenth Annual Report* (New York, 1866), p. 11.

³² New York State Board of Commissioners of Public Charities, *Sixth Annual Report* [1872], pp. 51-61.

³³ No action was taken on this recommendation, and the society continued to exist for many years. In 1893 the State Board of Charities conducted another investigation into its affairs which led to the revocation of its charter by the state supreme court in 1894.—New York State Board of Charities, *Twenty-eighth Annual Report* [1894] (Albany, 1895), pp. lxxi-lxxii.

right to subpoena witnesses. In this action, perhaps the first serious test challenging the Board's jurisdiction, its position was fully sustained by the court's decision.³⁴

A second important investigation was conducted by the Board in 1877. This inquiry involved the New York State Institution for the Blind at Batavia and was undertaken at the request of the state comptroller, who had discovered irregularities in the accounts of the institution. The inquiry revealed that the site of the institution had been chosen with poor judgment, that the structures were badly planned, that there had been wasteful expenditures in the purchase of supplies, and that the financial records of the institution were poorly kept.³⁵ As a result of its investigation, the Board recommended the establishment of a uniform system of bookkeeping in all state institutions, including classified and detailed accounts of all supplies purchased, together with proper audits. Such a step, it was contended, would not only protect the state against fraud, but would induce greater care and economy in purchasing methods. A uniform method of accounting was drawn up by the Board in 1878, and thereafter all state institutions were required to make out their reports to the Board accordingly.³⁶

In tabulating information obtained from institutional reports, the Board was greatly handicapped by a confusion in the calendar periods covered by the reports. This difficulty was surmounted by a legislative act of 1879 establishing the fiscal year for all welfare institutions as beginning on October 1 and ending September 30, and requiring all annual reports to cover that period.³⁷

EARLY LEADERSHIP OF THE BOARD

During its first quarter-century of existence the Board included among its members such outstanding leaders as Theodore W. Dwight, William Pryor Letchworth, Josephine Shaw Lowell, Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., Dr. Stephen Smith, William Rhinelander Stewart, and Oscar Craig. In many fields of social reform the Board acted

³⁴ New York State Board of Charities, *Eleventh Annual Report* [1877] (Albany, 1878), pp. 11-12, 99-114.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 149-58.

³⁶ New York State Board of Charities, *Twelfth Annual Report* [1878], p. 38.

³⁷ *Laws of New York, 1879*, c. 109.

as a creative agency, initiating important movements and projects that influenced the course, not only of public welfare, but of private social work as well. Not all its acts were free from criticism. It was engaged in many controversies in those days, as in later years. There were, for example, serious conflicts over division of functions and authority among the Board and the State Charities Aid Association, state commissioners of emigration, the state commissioner (later commission) in lunacy and other bodies. From our present perspective we can see that the Board was by no means always on the right side. But on the whole, its record was rich in significant accomplishments.

The Board during these years was frequently attacked and at times its very existence was seriously threatened. In his annual message to the legislature in 1884 Governor Grover Cleveland suggested that the Board be abolished in favor of a paid state superintendent of charities to serve, with relation to charitable institutions, in a capacity similar to that of the superintendent of state prisons.³⁸ He voiced the opinion that such a step would result in greater efficiency and better service to recipients of public aid. One of the chief arguments he presented was that a paid officer, with full responsibility, could function more efficiently, with greater benefit to the groups of unfortunates under the supervision of the Board than could a body of unpaid commissioners with divided responsibility, who could devote only part of their time to welfare work.³⁹ Cleveland's successor, David B. Hill, during his six years as governor, from 1886 to 1891, repeated a recommendation in every annual message that the State Board of Charities be abolished and its powers concentrated in a single officer.⁴⁰ But the Board survived these assaults, as it did those of later years.

SUMMARY

A Board of State Commissioners of Public Charities, consisting of eight unsalaried members, was established in May, 1867. Its chief duties were to visit and inspect all charitable and correctional insti-

³⁸ A constitutional amendment of 1876 had provided for a paid superintendent of state prisons to replace the former Prison Commission.

³⁹ *Messages from the Governors*, VII, 959-64.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, VIII, 171-72, 301, 479, 680, 931.

tutions receiving state aid (excepting prisons) and all public almshouses; to conduct investigations as occasion arose, and to report annually to the state legislature. Inspection of institutions under its supervision revealed many abuses which were brought to the attention of the legislature together with recommendations for their mitigation. Early in its career the Board launched a successful campaign for the removal of children from almshouses; it also played an active role in improving the treatment of the mentally handicapped.

The State Charities Aid Association, established in 1872, exercised an important influence on public welfare development.

Two legislative acts affecting the progress of state supervision were passed in 1873. One changed the name of the Board to the State Board of Charities, enlarged its membership to eleven, and expanded its powers and duties. The Board's power of visitation and inspection was extended to cover all welfare institutions and agencies whether receiving state funds or not. All institutions for the mentally ill were to be licensed by the Board. A permanent office, that of state commissioner in lunacy, was created by the statute. This officer was directed to examine and report on the condition of the mentally handicapped and was to serve as *ex officio* member of the State Board of Charities, to whom he was to submit periodic reports.

Another law of 1873 defined a class of dependents lacking legal settlement in any county, known as state paupers, who were to be supported and relieved at state expense under the supervision of the State Board of Charities. The Board was authorized to contract with five, later fifteen, counties or cities for the reception and maintenance of state paupers at their poorhouses. The secretary of the Board was empowered to remove any state pauper to another state or country where he had legal settlement or friends willing to support him if the state's interest or the individual's welfare warranted such removal.

In 1874 the Board, by direction of the legislature, conducted an inquiry into the causes of the increase in pauperism and produced an interesting, if rather unscientific, report on the subject.

The Board's power to subpoena witnesses in examinations of welfare institutions was challenged in 1877 by the New York Juvenile

Guardian Society but was upheld by the state supreme court. An investigation into the financial affairs of the New York State Institution for the Blind made by the Board in 1877 revealed irregularities in accounting methods and led to the establishment of a uniform system of bookkeeping in state welfare institutions.

The Board's membership included many men and women of unusual ability who played prominent roles in social welfare reforms during their time.

NEW YORK STATE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE
ALBANY, NEW YORK

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF RELATIVES UNDER THE STATE OLD AGE ASSISTANCE LAWS¹

ETHEL J. HART

STATES, in order to receive federal funds for old age assistance, must consider any aid given by a relative as a factor in determining the need of an old person and his eligibility for assistance. The advisory as well as the mandatory instructions of the federal agency, it would be expected, have had their influence on the policies of the different jurisdictions, since it is natural for a state to expect the federal government, with its broad-scale opportunities for studying the prevailing conditions and the legislation and the practices in all the jurisdictions, to be able to advise them with regard to desirable standards and procedures. Moreover, many states must be in accord with the policy, since they are subject to the same traditions and pressures which influenced the federal government in setting its standard.

The articulate public opinion in one state, however, is never quite the same as that of another community or of the nation as a whole. Further, as has been discussed, the federal policy is indefinite and vague in many respects, and states may not have realized the requirements they had to meet.

To discover the responsibility of relatives and the effect of the help which they give on the eligibility of old people asking assistance, it is necessary, therefore, to study the policies of the various states. A survey of the old age assistance acts in effect on November 1, 1939, shows that the laws of no two jurisdictions read exactly alike with respect to the determination of need and hence with respect to the responsibility of relatives. When the general intent of the laws as they relate to family responsibility is considered, however, the

¹ This article is a chapter from a Master of Arts field study, "The Responsibility of Relatives under Old Age Assistance Programs," of the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago in 1940. See this *Review*, XIV (December, 1940), 758.

states fall into three general classes. It is found that (1) in thirty-four jurisdictions,² which is two-thirds of all the states and territories for which the federal government is providing grants-in-aid, the acts clearly intend to insure, to more or less extent, that help from relatives be held a factor in determining the needs of persons asking for old age assistance; (2) in fifteen states³ the laws contain no reference to the responsibility of relatives to support the old person; (3) while in two states⁴ the intent of the law is to confine the decision as to the need of the old person to a consideration of his own want and of his own resources and income for meeting it.

What are the differences between these three groups of states in the treatment of old persons and their relatives? Do old people have a clearer right to assistance in states in which the old age assistance laws contain no provisions for the support of the applicants by their relatives? What responsibility, if any, do relatives have for the support of the old person? In the states in which there are specific requirements as to the support which relatives must provide, who are the relatives held liable and what are the penalties imposed upon them? What happens to the old person if the relative fails to assume the obligation placed upon him by law? These and other questions instantly come to mind after this cursory examination of old age assistance acts.

STATES WITH STATUTES PROVIDING FOR SUPPORT FROM RELATIVES

Governments are likely to be cautious in assuming new responsibilities or extending old ones, and particularly has this been true in respect to maintaining dependent people. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the old age assistance in two-thirds of the states

² Alabama, Alaska, California, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Hawaii, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

³ Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Tennessee, and Wyoming.

⁴ Texas and Utah.

and territories³ still provides that old persons are not eligible for assistance if they have relatives who will provide for them.

Different approaches to the problem.—In defining the obligations of relatives to support, the jurisdictions may be said to have adopted one of two approaches to this question. While the old age assistance statutes of Kansas, Kentucky, South Carolina, and Washington provide that old people are not needy and not eligible for assistance in so far as they are supplied with the necessities of life by their relatives, no liability attaches to the relatives by these statutes if they fail to perform their obligations. In the remaining thirty of these jurisdictions, however, certain classes of relatives are made legally liable for the support of the dependent old persons in their families and, if they refuse or fail to perform their obligations, can be forced by court action to provide for the needy aged person.

The question arises as to which type of law is the better. Statutes with provision for court action by which relatives may be compelled to support may possibly lead to an immediate saving of public funds in spite of the expense to the state in time and money which such a step entails. They cannot be considered desirable, however, for the old person and his relatives, as it is a matter of common knowledge that lawsuits in which the different interests of the family are pitted against each other inevitably increase whatever discord or lack of agreement gave rise to the action. Differences which might have been overcome in time if resort had not been made to the courts are likely to become crystallized into ill-feelings and grudges which remain when the court proceeding is a thing of the distant past. Moreover, the ability of relatives to support may change, and the court is ill equipped to keep informed of the shifts in the financial standing of the relatives.

It would seem more desirable, therefore, if support is to be required from relatives, to place on the agency administering the program the responsibility for seeing that the needy aged are maintained by relatives. If the administrative agency has a sufficient and competent staff, usually they can reach an agreement with the relative whereby he will provide the help that is required of him, and the agency can supplement with old age assistance to the extent that the

³ See above, the list in n. 2, p. 25.

donations of the relatives are inadequate to maintain the old person. In the few cases where the relatives refuse to give the assistance expected of them, the possible saving to the state that might be had by court action hardly seems to compensate for the destructive effect this step has on the family relations.

Relatives considered responsible for support.—In the four states⁶ where no legal liability attaches to the relatives who fail to support the old person, the statutes provide that contributions from any relative must be taken into consideration in determining the old person's eligibility for assistance. In these states, apparently, it is considered that all relatives should assume the responsibility for maintaining the needy old in their families. In the states where relatives are legally responsible for the support of the old person, however, the statutes establish the classes of relatives held liable and sometimes indicate the order of their liability.

The responsibility of the child or children for the support of the parent is the principal concern of the states. Even where other relatives in addition to the child are made legally responsible, the phrase "child or other relative legally responsible"⁷ or similar terminology is often used in the act in enumerating the responsible relatives. And sometimes where other relatives are required to support, their responsibility does not begin until after the ability of the child to support is exhausted.⁸ Punishment by fine or imprisonment for failure to support, too, is imposed only on persons standing in the relationship of parent and child.⁹

In seventeen jurisdictions¹⁰ the child may be said to be the only relative liable for the support of old persons. The child is the only person named in the statutes in ten states.¹¹ But to all intents and

⁶ *Kansas Session Laws, 1937*, c. 327, sec. 1; *Kentucky Acts of 1936*, c. 56, sec. 1; *South Carolina Acts of 1937*, No. 319, Part 3(d); *Washington Laws of 1939*, c. 25, sec. 3.

⁷ See *Nebraska Session Laws of 1939*, c. 117, sec. 1, and *District of Columbia, Code Suppl.*, Vol. IV, Title 8, c. 12, sec. 281.

⁸ E.g., see *Iowa Code of 1933*, sec. 5301.

⁹ E.g., see *Burns Indiana Statutes Annotated, 1933*, Vol. IV, sec. 10-1410.

¹⁰ California, Hawaii, Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

¹¹ *California Laws, 1939*, c. 719, sec. 15; *Illinois Revised Statutes, 1937* (State Bar ed.), c. 23, sec. 411; *Indiana Acts of 1936*, c. 3, Art. VII, sec. 94; *Maine Acts and Re-*

purposes seven other states¹² may be included in this group, since the only other person liable by the statutes is the parent; and it would seem that in actual practice the number of persons over sixty-five whose parents might be able to support them would be few.¹³

It should be noted, too, that while the state of Washington provides that all aid given by relatives, friends, or organizations is a factor in determining the need of the applicant, when such aid is not forthcoming, assistance can be denied the old person only in instances where it is the son or daughter who refuses to support.¹⁴

The statutes of twelve jurisdictions, Alabama, Alaska, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Iowa, Louisiana, Michigan, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania, make grandchildren, as well as children, liable for the support of their ascendants.¹⁵ In Iowa, however, this responsibility is limited to "male

solves, 1937 (spec. sess., October 26-29), c. 105, Title II, sec. 4(f); *Maryland Laws*, 1937, c. 12, sec. 3(e); *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, 1937, c. 440, sec. 2; *Minnesota Laws*, 1939, c. 315, sec. 1; *Ohio Laws*, 1937, H.B. 449, sec. 1(a); *Rhode Island General Laws*, 1938, c. 60, sec. 4, c. 419, sec. 1; *Virginia 1938 Suppl. to the Code of 1936*, sec. 1904-13, and *Code of 1936*, sec. 1944a.

In the instances of Rhode Island and Virginia, both the old age assistance statutes and the support statutes which define legally responsible relatives are cited, the old age assistance statute being the statute first cited.

¹² *Hawaii Session Laws*, 1937, c. 2592, sec. 12; *New Hampshire Session Laws*, 1937, c. 202, sec. 9; *North Dakota Public Laws*, 1937, c. 211, sec. 2; *Oregon Laws*, 1939, c. 241, sec. 7; *Vermont Laws*, 1937, No. 65, sec. 7; *Wisconsin Statutes*, 1937, sec. 49.22(8); *West Virginia Code*, 1937, sec. 626(15A).

¹³ But see Robert T. Lansdale and associates, *Administration of Old Age Assistance* (1938), p. 98, where discussing the practices of the states in determining eligibility it is said: "Parents are also responsible for children; in one state assistance was actually denied to an aged applicant on the grounds that her mother had sufficient means to provide for her."

¹⁴ *Washington Laws*, 1939, c. 25, sec. 3.

¹⁵ *Alabama Acts of 1939*, Act 485, and *Alabama Code of 1928*, sec. 2803; *Alaska Session Laws*, 1937, sec. 16; and *Compiled Laws*, 1933, secs. 1221 and 1792; *Connecticut Cumulative Supplement to the General Statutes* (January sessions, 1931, 1933, 1935), c. 99a, sec. 730c, and *General Statutes of Connecticut, Revision of 1930*, Vol. I, sec. 1717; *Delaware Laws*, 1937, c. 124, sec. 1, and *Revised Code of Delaware*, c. 54, Art. II, sec. 31; *District of Columbia Code*, Suppl. IV, Title 8, c. 12; *Iowa Acts of 48th General Assembly*, H.B. No. 628, sec. 18, and *Iowa Code of 1935*, sec. 3297; *Louisiana Acts of 1938*, Act 359, sec. 17, and *General Statutes*, 1939 (Dart), sec. 2214; *Michigan Acts of 1939*, Public Act 280, sec. 76; *Nebraska Bill No. 389 of 1939*, sec. 1; *New Jersey Cumulative Suppl. to the Revised Statutes*, 1938 Annual, Vol. S.44: 7-3; *New York McKinney's*

grandchildren who are able to labor"; and in Iowa, Delaware, and Michigan, grandchildren are not liable if the children are able to support.

Alabama, Alaska, Mississippi, and Nebraska have placed legal responsibility on relatives other than children and grandchildren. In Alabama brothers are also held liable, and the Alaska and Nebraska statutes list brothers and sisters in addition to the grandchildren. In Mississippi¹⁶ no responsibility rests on the grandchildren to support, but brothers and sisters are liable for the support of old persons seeking assistance.

In considering the attempts at classification of legally responsible relatives, one wonders what degree of success public officials have met in attempting to secure contributions from relatives and if the amount of help secured has been worth the time and effort spent in obtaining it. The degree of relationship does not always indicate a corresponding degree of affection and interest between the individuals concerned. By statute, in one state at least, it has been recognized that even the relationship between parent and child does not necessarily indicate a reciprocal obligation for care and support, for a child in that state is not made liable for the support of his parents if the parent has failed to provide for him during his years of minority. If the child oftentimes is unwilling to support his parent, certainly it would seem that individuals in other relationships would feel even less obligation to support. The clan is a social unit of the past. Grandchildren are not accustomed to thinking that they will be responsible for the care of a grandparent if he becomes needy, nor do brothers and sisters always feel an obligation to support each other.

Age at which relatives become responsible.—Usually the age at which responsibility for support begins is not specified in either the old age

Consolidated Laws (Annotated) 1930, Book 47-B, Art. XV, sec. 125; Pennsylvania Laws of 1937, No. 399, sec. 2, and No. 397.

When the old age assistance statute of a state is not complete in itself in its definition of legally responsible relatives, both the old age assistance statute and the support statute to which it is assumed it refers are cited. The old age assistance statute is cited first, the second citation being the support statute. This same method of citation will be used in succeeding footnotes when reference to the old age assistance statute alone does not seem sufficiently clear.

¹⁶ *Mississippi 1938 Suppl. to 1930 Code, sec. 2208.*

assistance acts or the statutes concerning the liability of relatives to support, to which the old age assistance laws evidently refer. Maryland,¹⁷ however, limits the responsibility to "adult children." In Indiana,¹⁸ also, the child must be "of full age," and the Massachusetts¹⁹ and Rhode Island²⁰ statutes place the age of responsibility at "twenty-one years." A child of sixteen years or over is held responsible in Virginia.²¹ In Wisconsin²² "no child of school age²³ shall be compelled to labor contrary to the child labor laws" to support his parents.

To compel young persons to support their aged relatives is inexpedient for the state as well as for the younger person. During the first years of work, the wages earned are usually very modest in amount. If the young person is able to manage his earnings so that they are more than sufficient to meet his own immediate personal needs, surely it would seem that he should be encouraged to use these earnings for his own advancement and development or to conserve them against the day when he may have a young family dependent on him for support. The instances in which persons past sixty-five have children who have not reached maturity may be small in number, and this problem may affect only a very small number of people. But in states where grandchildren are liable for support the problem assumes greater proportions.

The state of New York has provided that a minor child or grandchild shall not be burdened with the support of his relatives unless his income is in excess of his reasonable requirement, "taking into account his maintenance, education, medical care and other factors applicable to his condition."²⁴ It would be desirable if other states

¹⁷ *Annotated Code of Maryland (Bagly)*, 1924, Vol. I, Art. 27, sec. 91.

¹⁸ *Burns Indiana Statutes Annotated* 1933, Vol. IV, sec. 10-1410.

¹⁹ *Massachusetts General Laws (Ter. ed.)* 1932, Vol. II, c. 273, sec. 20.

²⁰ *General Laws of Rhode Island*, 1938, c. 4193, secs. 1-4.

²¹ *Virginia Code of 1936 (Michie)*, sec. 1944a.

²² *Wisconsin Statutes of 1937*, sec. 49.11.

²³ See Grace Abbott, *The Child and the State* (University of Chicago Press, 1938), I, 267.

²⁴ *New York Cahill's Consolidated Laws, 1936 Suppl.*, Book 47-B (Public Welfare Law), Art. XV, sec. 125.

could adopt similar provisions, and indeed if such provisions could be extended to young persons in their early twenties.

Ability of relatives to support.—The statutes, as a general rule, are indefinite as to what relatives are considered to be able to support. Occasionally the term "reasonably able" is used in speaking of the ability of the relatives to support. The Delaware Old Age Assistance Act²⁵ recognizes that relatives may have obligations prior to that of maintaining the old person and provides that an old person is eligible for assistance if the child or other relatives "cannot support him without undue sacrifice on the part of such child or other relative, or his or her wife or husband or his or her children."

The California²⁶ and Iowa²⁷ statutes have established more definitely, however, the financial ability that must exist before liability begins and have used the state income tax as their standard of measurement. Liability of a child for the support of his parent is considered to begin when the income of the child is equivalent to that upon which payment is required under the income tax laws of the states.²⁸

The California and Iowa statutes are of special interest in that they are the only statutes which have attempted to distinguish between the relatives who it is considered may be able to maintain the old and the relatives whose resources are considered so insufficient that the state will assume their responsibility for support.

Objection may be made to these statutes because they make the responsibility of the relative dependent on his net income alone and do not take into consideration obligations which the relative may have to meet. It can be said, however, that an income tax law does offer a rough guide as to prior obligations, because larger exemptions are allowed married people than single ones, and certain deductions

²⁵ *Delaware Laws of 1937*, c. 124, sec. 1.

²⁶ *California Laws, 1937*, sec. 5, as amended by *Laws, 1939*, c. 719, sec. 8.

²⁷ *Iowa Laws of 1939*, H.B. No. 628, sec. 17.

²⁸ See *California General Laws, 1938* (Deering, Act 8474), which provides in part that every person, if single, with an income of over \$1,000, or \$2,500 if married and living with spouse, or any person with a gross income of over \$5,000 must make a return; and *Iowa 1935 Code*, sec. 6943-113, which states that a single person having a net income for the tax year of \$600, or a married person having a net income of \$1,100, must pay an income tax.

are sometimes permitted for additional dependents. One wonders if old persons and relatives would not welcome definite standards by which they themselves could tell to some extent whether or not the relatives are regarded as able to support in place of indefinite standards which are likely to fluctuate from time to time according to whether or not the funds available for old age assistance are adequate or deficient to meet the needs of old persons in the state.

Jurisdictional difficulties.—When the country as a whole is considered, the relatives most likely to be held liable for the support of the old person are those who live in the county in which the old person resides.

Under old poor laws the town or county was the unit responsible for the care of the poor, and it followed that suits to enforce support were brought in the place where the poor person lived. The jurisdiction of the court did not extend beyond county lines, and relatives living outside the county could not be easily prosecuted. Under the provisions of the old age assistance statutes or the statutes to which they refer in defining the relatives made legally responsible and the liabilities which they incur, some states²⁹ apparently still follow this practice. There is much to be said in favor of it. The workers who made the investigation of the old person's eligibility for assistance and consequently should have the most objective knowledge of all the conditions surrounding the case are more easily available as witnesses than if the proceedings were brought in some other place.

If, however, it is considered that suits against relatives are desirable means of conserving state funds, perhaps the sums which would be recovered may be sufficiently large to outweigh the additional expense which would seem to be entailed in bringing suits outside the county in which the old age assistance applicant or recipient lives. In some states³⁰ evidently suit can be instituted in any court in the state having jurisdiction over the offending relative. Indiana³¹ and New

²⁹ For example, see *California Laws of 1939*, c. 719, sec. 8; *General Statutes of Connecticut, Revision of 1936*, sec. 1717; and *Wisconsin Statutes, 1937*, sec. 49-11.

³⁰ See, as examples, *Michigan Compiled Laws of 1929*, sec. 8210, and *New Hampshire Laws of 1937*, c. 202, Art. XII, sec. 9.

³¹ *Burns Indiana Statutes Annotated, 1933*, Vol. IV, sec. 10-1410.

Jersey³² attempt to achieve the same result by permitting the court of the county in which the old person applies for assistance to extend its jurisdiction to any county in the state in which the offending relative may be found. A court order directing the relative to pay a certain sum monthly does not always mean that payment is made by the relatives. Frequently also the circumstances of the old person or of the relatives change, and court orders should be modified accordingly. The difficulties involved in securing payment from relatives who are distant from the old person and the court are obvious.

The difficulties of prosecuting relatives beyond the state borders are evident. West Virginia³³ has attempted to meet this problem by providing that if the relative lives outside the state recourse may be made to "any estate or debts" which the absent relative has in the state. In New York also,³⁴ if a person absents himself, leaving anyone for whose support he is liable dependent upon public support or liable to become so dependent, the public welfare officials may apply to the court for a warrant to seize the real or personal property of the absent relative.

In spite of the difficulties of forcing relatives outside the state to support old persons, public welfare agencies have not been lacking in zeal in their attempts to secure financial support from these relatives. The Committee on Interstate Correspondence of the American Public Welfare Association reported in December, 1938, as follows:

In spite of the very questionable validity of the practice of legal enforcement of liability, and in spite of the practical impossibility of enforcing support of relatives where an interstate relationship is invoked, the attempt is widespread to secure only financial assistance from relatives. Even in those states where the law does not require that all relatives be contacted, thousands of appeals and letters bordering on actual threat of prosecution are sent to legally responsible relatives in other states.³⁵

³² *New Jersey 1938 Annual Volume of Cumulative Suppl. to the Revised Statutes*, sec. 44: 7-19.

³³ *West Virginia Code of 1937, Annotated*, c. 9, sec. 626 (150).

³⁴ *McKinney's Consolidated Laws of New York, Annotated 1938*, Book 47-B, Art. XV, sec. 127.

³⁵ "Interstate Correspondence Procedures" (Chicago: American Public Welfare Association, 1938; mimeographed), pp. 5-7.

This committee expressed its concern with the fact that frequently the correspondence was limited to requests for financial assistance from the relative. Form letters accompanied by affidavits were often used, and the letters in many instances were mailed automatically under the routine system of the office. A routine form requesting a report on the relative's financial standing and asking what aid the relative will supply the old person, whether sent directly to the relative or to him through a social agency in his locality, will be of little or no avail in securing support for the old person and is likely to cause ill-feeling on the part of the relative toward the old person. To avoid needless expense to the inquiring agency and to the agency who is asked to visit the relative, if that procedure is followed, it would seem that judgment should be used as to when relatives living out of the state should be asked to support. If request is made, the relative should be given some idea of the old person's circumstances and conditions, and effort should be made to secure the relative's interest in the old person even if he cannot contribute toward his maintenance.

The liabilities of relatives who fail to support.—In the majority of jurisdictions, if the old age assistance statutes are not complete in themselves with regard to the methods by which the liabilities are imposed on relatives who fail to support, they are definite in their references to other statutes under which these liabilities can be enforced.

In Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Vermont, however, the old age assistance statutes provide that legally responsible relatives are liable for support but do not define who are considered to be legally responsible relatives. Nor do the old age assistance statutes provide any method of enforcement. In Alabama the old age assistance statute renders an applicant ineligible for assistance if his income, together with contributions from a "legally responsible relative," is adequate to provide a reasonable subsistence of living in proportion to his accustomed standard. Legally responsible relatives are not defined, however; and no liability is imposed on them by the old age assistance statutes. In Illinois the old age assistance statute states that an old person is not eligible for assistance if he has a child who can legally be compelled to support him, but the act itself provides only for recovery for assistance already granted and does not con-

tain any provision by which future maintenance of the old person can be secured.

Relatives in these states must be confused as to the liabilities that will attach if they fail to support the old person, and administrative agencies must be perplexed in the matter. Since the methods of enforcement provided in the support statutes which enumerate the relatives legally responsible for the care of poor people might possibly be held to apply, the provisions of these statutes have been included in the discussion of the liabilities imposed on relatives, which immediately follows in this report.³⁶

Relatives failing to support old persons seeking public assistance are subject to legal liabilities in twenty-nine jurisdictions.³⁷ Contingent on the laws of the state in which the old person resides, the relative may by civil proceedings be required to support the old person in the future, or to pay for the aid already given him, or both. In addition, in some states they may be liable by criminal action or contempt proceedings to fine and punishment.

In ten³⁸ states the relatives are liable not only for the future sup-

³⁶ Only the provisions of the law in regard to parent and child were considered in so far as Rhode Island is concerned. There is also a pauper law which makes relatives liable to support, but requirements of this statute were omitted since the Rhode Island Old Age Assistance Act declares that no person shall be deemed a pauper because he is a recipient of old age assistance.

³⁷ Alabama, California, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Hawaii, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. Attention has already been called on p. 34 to the confusion regarding the meaning of "legally responsible relatives" in the Alabama Old Age Assistance Act.

In the states of Colorado, Georgia, Idaho, Kentucky, Montana, Nevada, Oklahoma, and South Dakota there are other laws on the statute books which might be held to apply to relatives who fail to support old age assistance applicants or recipients. The possibility of this interpretation is discussed later in this article on pp. 51-52.

³⁸ *California Laws, 1939*, c. 719, sec. 2224; *Illinois Revised Statutes, 1937*, c. 23, secs. 411 and 421½; *Indiana Acts, 1936*, c. 3, sec. 94; *Indiana Statutes (Burns)*, Vol. IV, sec. 10-1410; *Michigan Acts, 1939*, Public Act 286, secs. 76 and 77; *New Hampshire Laws of 1937*, c. 202, sec. 9; *New Jersey Cumulative Suppl. to the Revised Statutes, Annual Volume, 1938*, sec. 44: 7-19; *New York Consolidated Laws, 1938* (McKinney's), Book 47-B; Public Welfare Law, Art. XV, secs. 127, 128, 130, 131, 133; *Ohio Laws of 1937*, H.B. 449, sec. 1; *Pennsylvania Laws of 1937*, No. 397; *Vermont Acts and Resolves, 1937*, No. 65, sec. 1; and *Public Laws, 1933*, secs. 3933-3934.

port of the old person but also for any amounts of aid that have been extended him. The liability of relatives in nine jurisdictions³⁹ is limited to the recovery of sums already paid the old person by the state or county. In nine other jurisdictions⁴⁰ the relatives can be required to provide future maintenance, but there were no provisions found in the statutes whereby the state or county can recover from them for any old age assistance already paid.

Certain injustices are inherent in both of these methods for securing funds from relatives for the care of the aged. In particular are the recovery provisions inequitable in so far as the relative is concerned. Although the relative may have been unable to provide for the old person at the time he was awarded aid, he may be sued by the state for the amount of aid if his financial condition improves or indeed if there is a change in policy of the state agency as to the standard for judging the financial ability of the relative. With the exception of Nebraska and Vermont, there is no limitation on the time within which the relative can be sued. In Nebraska⁴¹ suit must be filed within one year from the time of the last payment by the state to the old person. In Vermont,⁴² where if recovery is to be had suit must be brought under the poor law, action cannot be brought for any aid provided more than six months previous to the filing of the complaint.

Hardships which may be incurred by the old person, if the method

³⁹ *Alaska Session Laws, 1937*, c. 2, sec. 16; *District of Columbia Code, Suppl. IV*, Title 8, c. 12; *Louisiana General Statutes (Dart)*, 1939, Vol. V, sec. 6538-66; *Maine Public and Special Laws, 1939*, c. 77, sec. 120; *Minnesota Laws, 1939*, c. 315, sec. 1; *Mississippi Suppl. 1938 to Code 1930*, sec. 2221; *Nebraska Cumulative Suppl., 1937*, sec. 68-267; *North Dakota Laws of 1939*, c. 211, sec. 19; *Oregon Laws, 1939*, c. 241, sec. 7.

It might be considered in some of these states that the fact that recovery only is mentioned in the Old Age Assistance Act does not preclude the agency from actions to enforce future support under the statutes regarding support.

⁴⁰ *Connecticut General Statutes, Division of 1930*, Vol. I, secs. 1717, 1718, 1719; *Delaware Revised Code of 1935*, sec. 1634; *Hawaii Revised Laws, 1935*, sec. 4538; *Iowa Laws of 1939*, H.B. No. 628, sec. 18; *Maryland Laws, 1937*, c. 12, sec. 3, and *Code 1924 (Bagly)*, Vol. I, Art. 27, sec. 91; *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves, 1937*, c. 440, sec. 2; *Rhode Island General Laws, 1939*, c. 419; secs. 1-4; *Virginia Suppl. 1938 to Code 1936*, sec. 1904-24, and *Code 1936 (Michie)*, sec. 19444; *Wisconsin Statutes, 1937*, secs. 49.11 and 49.12.

⁴¹ *Nebraska, Cumulative Supplement 1937*, sec. 68-267.

⁴² *Vermont, Public Laws 1933*, sec. 3938.

relied upon by the state is the enforcement of future support, are discussed later in this article in considering the effect of the requirements of support from relatives on the eligibility of the old person for assistance.

In thirteen jurisdictions⁴³ relatives who fail to support the old person are subject to fine or imprisonment or both. The failure of a child to support his parents in Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Ohio, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Virginia is regarded as a misdemeanor, thus constituting the child's failure to support a criminal action on his part. Relatives who fail to obey the order of the court to support in Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania are subject to the penalties imposed for contempt of court. In Delaware also the court may, in its discretion, enforce compliance with the order to support by imprisonment; while in Hawaii the relative may be compelled to support by summary process.

Attention has already been called to the injuries to family relationships which result from court action against the relative. Needless to say, punitive methods for compelling support are even more destructive in their effects. The existence of these provisions in the statutes, it may be claimed, prevents relatives from attempting to cast the burden of support on the states; but deterrent measures have never reduced demands for assistance to any appreciable extent, since the needs which occasioned the demands still remain unmet.

Responsibility for the institution of judicial proceedings.—When an agency believes a relative can provide for an old age assistance applicant it generally explains to the relative his responsibilities under the law and under the rules and regulations of the agency and endeavors to try to work out an arrangement whereby the relative will support the old person in so far as he is able to do so. But, if the relative refuses to enter into such a plan, the question arises as to what the policy of the agency shall be with regard to the institution of court action.

The Bureau of Public Assistance of the Social Security Board is of the opinion that it is not the function of a public welfare agency to

⁴³ Delaware, Hawaii, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Virginia.

prosecute relatives for their failure to support.⁴⁴ The Bureau suggests that the institution of these proceedings should be left to the old person but that the agency may advise him that he does have this recourse and inform him of the prosecuting official in the community to whom he may go if he wishes to proceed against the relative.

Much can be said for this view. If the ability of the relative to support is considered to be a resource which the old person must exhaust before he is eligible for public aid, it can be said that the agency is not obligated to obtain it for him. Certainly, since such action does nothing to foster, and may injure, family relationships, the old person should be allowed to decide whether or not he wishes to resort to such action in order to supply his needs. Perhaps the best solution for the old person's problem in these cases is to secure help for him from other less able relatives or from his friends. It may be that there is a private social agency which will care for him.

These measures may fail, however, and the recalcitrant relative may be the only person to whom the old person can turn for assistance. To place the burden of prosecution upon the old person may be just and legal, but it seems a cold and hard kind of justice. The institution of legal proceedings is perplexing and complicated to most people, and there are in the majority of communities no legal-aid bureaus or social agencies to which one may turn for legal advice. The purpose of old age assistance statutes is to prevent want among needy old people. If an old person is denied assistance, it seems incumbent on the authority refusing his application to be assured that his needs will be met.

It is not always clear, too, that the old person has the right to institute action. In some states, under the support statutes, the poor person or his kindred who are aggrieved or injured by the failure of a relative to support may institute action against the erring relative.⁴⁵ But the old age assistance statute in no state or territory makes provision for the institution of suit by the old person, nor does any other statute of some of the jurisdictions provide that the old person may

⁴⁴ Bureau of Public Assistance, *Family Budgeting for Assistance Grants*, p. 24.

⁴⁵ E.g., see *Connecticut Statutes, 1930 (Revision)*, sec. 17117; *Nebraska Cumulative Suppl., 1937*, sec. 68-101.

institute proceedings in his own behalf.⁴⁶ Unless it can be considered that the right of the old person to sue can be subrogated to the right of the agency to sue, because of their interest in the matter, the old person is, in these instances, without legal remedy.

There is no such problem with regard to the right of the authority administering old age assistance to sue. The old age assistance statutes in all but four states—Alabama, Connecticut, Maryland, and Vermont—specify that the administrative agency has authority to institute judicial proceedings against the relatives. And under the support statutes in these states the agency obviously has this authority.

If it is decided that it is the responsibility of the administrative agency to institute proceedings, it does not follow that the agency should institute action in every case in which a relative fails to support. Many factors are involved in a relative's failure to perform the obligation requested of him, and the administrative agency should be free to exercise its judgment as to when to use the drastic method of obtaining future maintenance for the old person or of receiving reimbursement of public funds through recovery proceedings. The statutes of most of the jurisdictions so permit. In New Jersey and Ohio, however, the old age assistance statutes indicate that the agency should bring suit for the future support of the old person whenever the relative held responsible for maintaining him refuses to do so. These statutes also stress the obligation of the state agency to recover from relatives, when possible, any aid supplied the old person.

California's method of handling this problem is to hold legally responsible for support only children whose financial ability reaches a certain standard but to prosecute all relatives of that financial standing and above who fail to provide for the old person.⁴⁷

There is little published information from which can be determined the frequency with which states have invoked these provisions of the old age assistance statutes. In so far as could be discovered, no case in which the administrative agency has instituted recovery proceedings or actions for future support against relatives

⁴⁶ For example, see the *District of Columbia Code*.

⁴⁷ *California Laws, 1939, c. 719, sec. 2224.*

has reached the final court of appeal of any state. This offers no test as to what may have taken place in the lower courts, however, for persons against whom such actions may have been brought are too poor oftentimes to carry an appeal to a higher court in case of an adverse decision of the lower courts.

It was the experience of one state agency that the prosecution of relatives was a cumbersome and expensive device for securing support for old persons. That agency, the Minnesota State Board of Control, in its most recent biennial report, makes the following recommendation: "If the law is to continue to say that the children and spouse of the recipients are responsible for his support, or partial support, if able without undue hardship to contribute, legislation should provide a more simple process for collecting such support."⁴⁸

The Board had found it "almost impossible" to obtain support for an old person from a child or spouse "if the child or spouse refuses voluntarily to contribute." Although notices had been served on relatives, up to June 30, 1938, no court action had been completed to force a relative to contribute in accordance with his ability.⁴⁹ The report states that one reason for this failure is that the amount involved is usually so small that many county attorneys feel the cost of the action would be in excess of the sums which might possibly be obtained.

If officials are reluctant to prosecute relatives to secure future maintenance for the old persons, undoubtedly they would be even more reluctant to institute proceedings to institute actions of recovery if the amount which could be secured probably would amount to very little.

State and county relations.—There is no consensus as to what should be the relations of the state and the county departments of public welfare and as to their respective responsibilities for the details of operation of the programs. The differences in the old age assistance statutes with respect to the unit responsible for the institution of judicial proceedings against relatives are illustrative of this lack of agreement.

⁴⁸ Minnesota State Board of Control, *Biennial Report of Public Assistance for the Period Ended June 30, 1938*, p. 15.

⁴⁹ See also the rules of the Wisconsin State Pension Department, *Legally Responsible Relatives* (Bulletin WSP-FS8, September 15, 1938), p. 7. See below pp. 42-43.

This responsibility is vested in the state agency in nine jurisdictions⁵⁰—Alaska, Delaware, Illinois, Iowa, Louisiana, Maine, Mississippi, New Hampshire, and Ohio. The county agency, however, is the agency which must institute proceedings in the following jurisdictions: California, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nebraska, New Jersey, North Dakota, Oregon, and Virginia.⁵¹ In Connecticut, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and New York action can be brought by either the state or the local department.⁵² In some states the assistance statutes are silent on the subject.

Whether the suit is brought in the name of the state or county department seems to be of minor importance if the decision in respect to court action and the institution of the proceedings is handled in the way that is least destructive to family relations as is possible under the law, and if there is uniformity in practice throughout the state.

It may be said that vesting the responsibility for the institution of judicial proceedings in the state agency tends to insure uniformity. This does not necessarily follow. A state agency can be inconsistent and indecisive in administration as well as in supervision. It can be said, too, that there are other methods of achieving statewide consistency in handling this problem other than by making the bringing of actions the duty of the state department. Under the power which each state agency has to make rules and regulations governing the administration of the program, satisfactory standards

⁵⁰ *Alaska Session Laws of 1937*, c. 2, sec. 16; *Delaware Revised Code of 1935*, sec. 1634; *Illinois Revised Statutes of 1937* (State Bar ed.) c. 23, sec. 4221½; *Iowa Acts of 48th General Assembly*, H.B. No. 628, sec. 1; *Louisiana General Statutes Annotated, 1939* (Dart), Vol. V, sec. 6538-66; *Maine Public and Special Laws, 1937*, c. 77, sec. 2; *Mississippi 1938 Suppl. to Mississippi Code, 1930*, c. 154B, sec. 2223; *New Hampshire Laws of 1937*, c. 202, Art. XII, sec. 9; *Ohio Laws of 1937*, H.B. No. 449, sec. 1.

⁵¹ *California Laws of 1939*, c. 719, sec. 8; *Indiana Acts of 1936*, c. 3, Art. VII, sec. 94; *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves, 1937*, sec. 2; *Michigan Acts of 1939*, Pub. Act 280; *Nebraska Cumulative Suppl. of 1937*, sec. 68-267; *New Jersey 1938 Annual Volume of Cumulative Suppl. to Revised Statutes*, sec. 44: 7-19; *North Dakota Laws of 1937*, c. 211, sec. 19; *Oregon Laws of 1939*, c. 241, sec. 7; *Virginia 1938 Suppl. to the Virginia Code of 1936*, sec. 1904-24.

⁵² *Connecticut Cumulative Suppl. to the General Statutes* (January sessions, 1931, 1933, 1935), c. 87, Part III, sec. 669c; *Minnesota Laws of 1939*, c. 315, sec. 1; *Pennsylvania Laws of 1937*, No. 397; *New York McKinney's Consolidated Code*, Vol. 47-B, Art. XV, sec. 126.

in county administration, in this as in other respects, can be achieved. The final step of prosecution is but one of the factors involved in the treatment of relatives and must be part and parcel of the whole policy of a state in respect to this question. Persons in similar circumstances throughout the state should receive like treatment.

The eligibility of the old person.—The statutes of some jurisdictions state that an old person whose relatives are able to help him is not eligible for assistance. The statutes may also instruct that if the relative fails to provide for the old person judicial proceedings may be instituted against the relative to compel him to support. Under these circumstances, if the relative refuses to provide the aid expected of him, can the administrative agency deny an old person assistance on its own findings that the relative is financially able to support the applicant or must it grant assistance until the unwilling relative is declared by the court able and liable to maintain the applicant? This perplexing question of what are the functions of the administrative or executive and what are the functions of the judiciary arises.

In deciding which policy it will adopt, the agency administering assistance is locked between the two horns of the dilemma. Prosecution of relatives is cruel in its effects on the relatives and the old person. It is cumbersome and expensive to the state. Agencies are advised by the federal agency that it is not their function to institute proceedings. An agency must have a certain reluctance in adopting this method. Yet old age assistance statutes are to protect old persons from want, and if an agency denies assistance it should be certain that the applicant is maintained. Too, if the old person chooses to sue the agency because of its refusal of assistance, what if the findings of the agency are not upheld by the court?

The states seem to have varied in the policy adopted. In Wisconsin the State Pension Department passed the following rule:

That no applicant for old age assistance can be denied a grant, where he has qualified in every other particular, solely on the ground that in the opinion of the county pension administration he has relatives able to take care of him or contribute towards the support of the applicant, but that in every such case it is the duty of the county pension administration to bring action under Sec. 4911 to have the county court determine the amount of contribution, if any,

that is to be made by such relatives and in the event of the failure to comply with such county court order that the county pension administration proceed under Sec. 4912, for recovery of such amount from such relatives.⁵³

The instructions which accompany this ruling state that the county agency shall not refer the matter to the courts until every possibility of securing voluntary aid is exhausted and that if the matter is brought before the court the agency should be assured that he has complete information.

In Minnesota also, while the county agency may fix a value on subsistence which a child furnishes the applicant and deduct such value from the allowance, if support by the child is an undue hardship or the child refuses further to support the applicant, no deduction may be made unless there has been court decision as to the ability of the relative to support.⁵⁴

On the other hand, in Connecticut, an opinion of the attorney-general may cause the administrative agency to believe that it must reject an applicant if it believes his relatives are able to provide for him.⁵⁵ The commissioner of welfare of that state wrote the attorney-general about a case in which the wife and sons and daughters were presumably able to support their father, who was an applicant for old age assistance. The family's reluctance to help the old man arose from the fact that he had deserted them eighteen years before. The opinion of the attorney-general is pointed toward the fact that the father's desertion of his wife and children and failure to provide for them for many years, does not relieve the wife and children from legal liability, since that contingency is not excepted in the statute making the relatives liable. In view of the fact that the letter of the commissioner requesting the advice of the attorney-general specifically states that "we are wondering if, in your opinion, we could make an award to the applicant," the agency doubtless would believe that it could and should refuse assistance to the applicant without resort to the courts to determine the ability of the wife and children to support.

⁵³ Wisconsin State Pension Department, *op. cit.*

⁵⁴ See *Minnesota 1938 Suppl. to Statutes of 1927*, sec. 3199-26, which is followed by summarized opinions of the attorney-general. The opinion discussed here is that of April 6, 1936.

⁵⁵ Attorney-General of Connecticut, *Nineteenth Biennial Report* (Pub. Doc. No. 40).

An equally puzzling question for an administrative agency to decide arises in the District of Columbia, where an old person is declared ineligible for assistance if his "legally responsible" relatives are able to support him, but where the only judicial proceedings against the relative provided for in the Old Age Assistance Act or in any other statute are proceedings whereby the District may recover from the kindred for the assistance awarded the old person. Does the statute intend that the old person be granted assistance and that the District commissioners of the agency administering old age assistance can then reimburse the public funds by a suit of recovery? Or will the agency be considered delinquent in its duty if in a suit of recovery it is found that the agency granted assistance with full knowledge that the financial ability of the relatives was sufficient to maintain the old person?

One wonders what happens to an old parent in the state of Washington if his son or daughter refuses to support him. It is within the province of the assistance agency to refuse him assistance, but there is no method by which the old person or the agency can compel this support.

In two states the provisions of the statutes are so conflicting that the administrative agency must surely be uncertain as to what the statute requires it to do when it believes that the relatives of the old person seeking assistance are financially able to care for him. In Alabama⁵⁶ the section of the law which establishes the eligibility of the old person provides only that contributions actually received from relatives must be considered in determining the eligibility of the applicant for assistance. But this section would seem to be negated to some extent by another section of the act which requires the old person to notify the county department if any relative becomes able to support him, whereupon the county department may continue, reduce, or cancel his assistance.

The Illinois old age assistance statute⁵⁷ provides that assistance can be denied to an old person if he has children who can legally be compelled to support him, but only during the period that such children do actually support him. But immediately preceding this

⁵⁶ Cf. sec. 3 of Act 485 of the *Acts of 1930* with sec. 8 of the same act.

⁵⁷ *Illinois Revised Statutes, 1937* (State Bar ed.), c. 23, sec. 411(g) and (h).

subsection of the statute is a subsection which reads: "Has no children who, in the opinion of the State Department or of the Attorney General, are legally responsible for his support." The provisions are certainly in conflict, which must the state agency follow?

Aside from the actual conflict as to whether or not the old person can be denied assistance during the period in which he receives no support from relatives, an inefficient method of administration seems to have been established by the Illinois act. Will the state agency feel under obligation to consult the attorney-general each time it wishes to reject a case? Surely that official has neither the time nor the experience to weigh the facts in each case involving the financial ability of relatives.

What the administrative agency may determine to be the rights to assistance of an old person whose able relatives refuse to support him is a question in still other states. Are the Indiana⁵⁸ and Michigan assistance agencies precluded from awarding an old person assistance because the old age assistance statutes provide that the passage of these statutes is not intended to relieve the relative legally liable for the support of his aged kindred? The sense of social justice of the agency might lead it to say "no"; but because of the support statutes in effect in the state it might feel required to exert great pressure to obtain support from a financially able relative, even though the agency realized the disastrous effects that such action might have on family relations.

That it is not the purpose of the old age assistance program "to interfere with the universally recognized moral obligations of kindred to provide when possible for the support of dependent relatives" is the declaration of the Kansas old age assistance statute. The assistance agency may realize that the willingness and desire to care for a parent springs from something within the child and that if the child does not feel this obligation it is difficult to instill this willingness to give help. Will denying assistance to an old person whose relatives refuse to support him help the relative to perceive his "universally recognized moral obligation"?

After finishing this discussion of the confusion in the statutory provisions concerning the responsibility of relatives, one is tempted

⁵⁸ *Indiana Acts, 1936, c. 3, sec. 94.*

to brush them away as being unimportant, as being mere legal technicalities which assuredly the administrative agency or the court can be depended upon to resolve into a practical method of administration. The difficulty in so doing lies in the fact that in this day of changing attitudes and policies regarding family responsibility, what is a practicable, sensible practice to some people seems utterly impracticable to others. There are some people in every community who have a strong belief that a son should support his needy father or mother "as long as he has a penny to his name." Others have come to believe that it is inexpedient to the state to require children to sustain their parents if the fulfilment of this filial duty deprives them and their families of educational opportunities which will enable them to become more useful citizens. Harassed by these conflicting community pressures and circumscribed oftentimes by the inadequacy of the assistance appropriations, the public welfare agency does not always find it easy to know what course it should pursue.

STATES IN WHICH THE OLD AGE ASSISTANCE STATUTES CONTAIN
NO REFERENCE TO THE RESPONSIBILITY OF RELATIVES

In fifteen states⁵⁹ the old age assistance statutes impose no obligations on relatives for the support of persons seeking this type of aid. Can the state administrative agency, then, deny assistance to an old person on the grounds that he is receiving or would obtain help from relatives?

Provision of the statutes concerning the eligibility of applicants and the determination of need.—The statutes of all these states contain some general provisions concerning eligibility or the amount of assistance to be granted which, it would seem, have the possibility of being interpreted to mean that any help available to an old person from a relative or from any other person must be taken into consideration in determining his eligibility for old age assistance and the amount of aid to which he is entitled.

In eight states⁶⁰ the old age assistance statutes provide that the

⁵⁹ See n. 3, p. 25.

⁶⁰ *Arkansas Acts, 1939, Act 280, sec. 19; Georgia Laws, 1937, No. 64, sec. 3; Idaho Session Laws, 1937, c. 216, sec. 22; Montana Session Laws, 1937, Part III, sec. III;*

amount of assistance granted is to be determined "with due regard to the resources and necessary expenditures of the individual and the conditions existing in each case" and "shall be sufficient when added to all other income and support of the recipient to provide such person with a reasonable subsistence compatible with decency and health. Sometimes these acts provide as a condition of eligibility that the applicant "has not sufficient income or other resources to provide a reasonable subsistence compatible with decency and health."⁶¹

The terminology in other states differs slightly but seems similar in intent. The Oklahoma statute⁶² uses the phrase "income and resources" and provides further that in no case can the grant "when added to the income of the applicant from all other sources" be more than is necessary to provide a reasonable subsistence compatible with decency and health. The Colorado act⁶³ requires that "the net income from whatever source" be considered in determining the award, either in cash or in kind; while the Wyoming statute⁶⁴ provides that the assistance shall be sufficient when added to "the net income" of the individual to provide a subsistence compatible with decency and health. In 1939 the legislature of South Dakota amended the act of 1937⁶⁵ to include the following definition of resources: "All items and services of subsistence, shelter and support available to or received by a person from any source whatsoever and to which he may or may not have a legal claim."⁶⁶

The question may be raised as to whether or not help received from a child can be considered to be "income or resources" under the provisions of old age assistance statutes. While this issue has

Nevada 1938 Pocket Suppl. to Compiled Laws, 1929, sec. 5154.03; New Mexico 1939 Suppl. to Compiled Statutes, 1929, sec. 134-2515; North Carolina Laws, 1937, c. 288, sec. 6(c); Tennessee Public Acts, 1937, c. 49, sec. 3.

⁶¹ *Arizona Acts, 1937, c. 70, sec. 2; Florida Laws, 1937, S.B. 799, sec. 4; Georgia Laws, 1937, No. 64, sec. 2(b); Idaho Laws, 1939, c. 216, sec. 33(4); New Mexico 1938 Suppl. to Compiled Statutes, 1929, sec. 134-2511; Tennessee Public Acts, 1937, c. 49, sec. 2(c).*

⁶² *Oklahoma Laws, 1939, S.B. 94, sec. 5.* ⁶³ *Colorado Laws, 1937, c. 201, sec. 6.*

⁶⁴ *Wyoming Session Laws, 1939, S.B. 6, sec. 2.*

⁶⁵ *South Dakota Code of 1939, Vol. III, sec. 55-3601.*

⁶⁶ *South Dakota Laws, 1939, S.B. 76, sec. 1.*

not come before the courts under the acts in effect in these states at the present time, it has been brought before the courts under statutes which used similar terminology in providing for the method of determining the need of persons seeking assistance.

That the words "resources," "income," and "means" refer to property or capabilities of producing property and do not include gifts which may or may not be made at some future time was the opinion of the appellate court in a Missouri case.⁶⁷ This suit was brought under the provisions of the Missouri Old Age Assistance Act of 1937, which used much the same phraseology as do the statutes just discussed. The act of 1937⁶⁸ provided that the amount of benefits which any person should receive should be determined with due regard to the resources of the person and his expenditures and that the amount to be received shall when "added to all other income and support" be sufficient to provide the recipient with "a reasonable subsistence compatible with decency and health." It was, however, provided in part that benefits shall be paid to any person who "is incapacitated from earning a livelihood and has not sufficient income or other resources to provide a reasonable subsistence compatible with decency and health, and if therefore without adequate means of support."

In this case the State Social Security Commission had discontinued aid to Jasper W. Moore, because the Commission found that his twenty-eight-year-old daughter had provided for him and his wife and could continue to do so on the \$630 a year which she made by teaching school. Mr. Moore appealed the case to the circuit court, and that court overruled the decision of the Social Security Commission and ordered that Mr. Moore be reinstated on the old age assistance rolls. The court noted that the daughter was not legally responsible under the laws of Missouri for the support of her father, and it was the opinion of the court that the law recognizes and enforces rights which are legal and none other. "It may be," said the court, "that if benefit of the law is denied claimant his daughter will continue her contributions, but the law will not compel

⁶⁷ *Moore v. State Social Security Commission*, 122 S.W. (2d), 391; 233 Mo. Appeal Reports 536 (1938).

⁶⁸ *Missouri Annotated Statutes*, 1938, sec. 12967b-11.

her to do so for the reason she is not under legal duty to support her parent." Thus, the judgment of the lower court was affirmed.

A case⁶⁹ involving the responsibility of children to support was brought also under the Washington act of 1937, which used the term "resources and income" in defining the method of determining the need of an old age assistance applicant.⁷⁰ The case reached the supreme court of the state on the appeal of the State Department of Social Security from a decision of the lower court ordering it to grant assistance to Mrs. Johanna Conant, to whom the State Department had denied old age assistance because she had relatives able to support her. The old age assistance statute in that state did not place any liability for support on relatives, and there was no other law which made relatives legally responsible for the support of applicant. The act provided, however, that the assistance given to any individual should not "together with the applicant's own resources and income" be less than \$30 a month. It was the opinion of the court that the Old Age Assistance Act required assistance to be given to any person who was in need and that Mrs. Conant was in need, since it was agreed she could not support herself. In so far as the help, which it was frankly admitted the daughter and her husband were willing to give, was concerned, the court said:

The fact that some kindly disposed stranger, or that some charitably motivated relative, is willing and financially able to pay for the clothing, lodging and food of the respondent in nowise absolves the state of its duty or relieves it of its obligation to grant to her old age assistance in a sum not less than thirty dollars monthly. If respondent were compelled to beg from door to door, or if she were dependent on some one of the many charitable associations for support, her need would be no greater than if compelled, as she now is, to accept the necessary relief of food, lodging and clothing gratuitously bestowed on her by a son-in-law and daughter (relatives who are not legally liable or responsible for her care).

The decision in this case was the decision of a divided court, and those who believe that the state should not assume the maintenance of old people until after the ability of relatives to provide for them has been exhausted may take comfort from the fact that four of the nine justices dissented from the majority opinion.

⁶⁹ *Conant v. State et al.*, 84 P. (2d) 378; 191 Washington 21 (1938).

⁷⁰ *Washington Revised Statutes (Remington)*, sec. 9928-2.

Mr. Justice Robinson in his dissenting opinion calls attention to the "duty of the family unit to care for its aged" and also to the cost to the state which would result if relatives were released from these traditional responsibilities. The view of the minority in the court became the view of the majority of the legislature. In 1939 the Old Age Assistance Act was amended to provide that any assistance given by relatives is to be considered in determining the amount of the award to which an old person is entitled and to permit the assistance agency to refuse aid to an old person if the agency considers his son or daughter able to provide for him.

Missouri,¹⁷ also, after the decision in the Moore case, amended the section of its Old Age Assistance Act which had been under the consideration of the courts so that the section now provides that benefits are payable only to a person whose "earning capacity, income or resources, whether such income or resources is received from some other person or persons, gifts or otherwise, sufficient to meet his needs for a reasonable subsistence compatible with decency and health."

In the Moore case the court had said that the words "resources, income and means" refer to property or capabilities of producing property and do not include gifts which may or may not be made at some future time. The definition in the 1939 act of income and resources as being inclusive of gifts received from any person may be intended to allow the administrative agency to declare ineligible persons who are helped by their relatives. But old age assistance awards are based on the future needs of the applicant. If the only way in which their needs can be expected to be met are through gifts, the court might still say that the old person is in need. There would be no way of forcing the relative or other persons to continue the gifts, and it seems the court might hold that the promise of future help by a child or other relative does not make a person ineligible for old age assistance.

To hold that gifts from relatives bar an old person from assistance is certainly contrary to the decision of another Missouri case. It was the opinion of the Springfield Court of Appeals that donations furnished by relatives should be regarded as being supplied on the

¹⁷ *Missouri Laws, 1939, S.B. 32, sec. 17.*

same basis as help given by an institution or agency established to relieve the poor.⁷² The State Social Security Commission had denied the claim of Houston R. Price for old age assistance because his wife was receiving \$50 a month from her son-in-law. It was agreed that Mr. Price could not work and had no property to maintain him. The appellate court found that persons living in public institutions could leave those institutions, even though they could be provided with a living there, in order to receive old age assistance. The court was therefore of the opinion that it was just as evident that an old person should not be disqualified for assistance because in the past some relative or individual had maintained him. The appellate court, therefore, confirmed the decision of the lower court directing the State Commission to award the old man assistance.

Provisions of other state statutes which affect the responsibility of relatives.—Other laws on the statute books in some of those states providing for family responsibility might possibly influence the administrative agency in its ruling regarding the responsibility of relatives for persons seeking old age assistance.

There is still a pauper law in Georgia whereby the father, mother, or child of any pauper is made responsible for his support.⁷³ The Georgia Old Age Assistance Act states that subscribing to a pauper's oath can never be made an eligibility requirement.⁷⁴ This, it would appear, prohibits the enforcement of responsibility for the support of the aged, since the only liability of relatives for support is that imposed on them by the pauper laws.

In Colorado,⁷⁵ Montana,⁷⁶ and Nevada⁷⁷ there are also poor laws in effect which make the father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, children or grandchildren, brother or sister of any poor person liable for his support. The old age assistance statutes, however, contain no reference to the poor laws. It might be considered in these states that the legislatures in providing for the establishment of an old age assistance program were merely establishing another system of

⁷² *Price v. State Social Security Commission*, 121 S.W. (2d) 298.

⁷³ *Georgia Code of 1933*, secs. 23-2301-3. ⁷⁴ *Georgia Acts, 1937*, No. 64, sec. 2.

⁷⁵ *Colorado, Annotated Statutes, 1939*, IV, c. 124, secs. 1, 2, 3.

⁷⁶ *Montana Revised Code, 1935*, secs. 4521-23.

⁷⁷ *Nevada Compiled Laws, 1929 (Hillyer)*, secs. 5137-39.

care for paupers or indigents over sixty-five years of age and that, therefore, the relatives already liable for the support of the poor would be considered liable for a person seeking public aid under the Old Age Assistance Act. An equally feasible view, however, is that the legislature does not regard dependency caused by old age in the same light that it does other types of poverty and wished to establish a program for the care of the old which differed from poor relief. The very fact that the legislature failed in this act to place primary responsibility on grandparents, parents, children, grandchildren, brothers, and sisters very logically could be interpreted to indicate the belief of the legislature that dependency on account of old age was a responsibility of government and not a responsibility of persons who happened to be related to these persons who, because of age, can no longer maintain themselves.

In Idaho,⁷⁸ Montana,⁷⁹ Oklahoma,⁸⁰ and South Dakota⁸¹ acts with respect to the relation of parent and child are found on the statute books, and it is possible that the state agency might believe it justifiable to rule that old people with children able to support them are not eligible for assistance, since under these parent-and-child statutes it is evidently considered the duty of a child to support his parents, and methods are provided for enforcing this responsibility.

In the absence of judicial decisions the responsibility of relatives for the support of old people in a matter of administrative rule and regulation rather than of legislative determination in all these fifteen states, and the policies that some of these states have adopted are discussed later in this report.

STATES WHOSE OLD AGE ASSISTANCE LAWS PROHIBIT THE
INVESTIGATION OF THE FINANCIAL ABILITY
OF THE RELATIVES

Texas and Utah in their legislation have departed from the traditional principle of family responsibility. Their old age assistance statutes contain forthright declarations that the eligibility of the

⁷⁸ *Idaho Code*, 1932 (Official ed.), Vol. II, sec. 31-1002.

⁷⁹ *Montana Revised Code*, 1935, secs. 5853-55.

⁸⁰ *Oklahoma 1938 Suppl. to Annotated Statutes of 1931 (Harlow)*, sec. 1691.

⁸¹ *South Dakota Code*, 1939, Vol. I, sec. 14-0312.

old person seeking aid is based on his own need and dependency alone and is not predicated upon the possibility that he may have relatives financially able to help him.

In 1937 the people of Utah through their legislature very definitely declared the purpose of the old age assistance statute passed in that year to be to bring about a condition whereby citizens of the state shall enjoy security in old age and "to deny assistance to no person sixty-five years of age or over who is not self-supporting."⁸²

The act provides that in determining the need of the applicant his income from all sources must be considered,⁸³ but it expressly prohibits the investigation of the financial standing or the ability to help the applicant or recipient of any person except the applicant and his spouse, whether it be a relative or a friend or otherwise.⁸⁴ The act further specifies that no form or blank shall prescribe or provide that any information be given as to the income or financial status of any person other than the applicant and his spouse.

The experience under this statute has evidently been satisfactory to the state, for the requirements forbidding investigation of the financial standing of persons other than the applicant were not changed by the legislature of 1939.⁸⁵

In the same way, on June 2, 1939, the Texas legislature amended the existing old age assistance law and provided⁸⁶ that it should become effective immediately because of the emergency existing from the fact that under the 1937 act "*in determining the need of an applicant for assistance, consideration is given to the ability of children and other relatives of the applicant to support said applicant*, as well as to the value of residence homestead property, *thereby depriving many needy persons of their right to receive aid from the state of Texas.*"⁸⁷

The instructions as to the method for determining the eligibility of an old person seeking assistance provide that the fact that the applicant has a child or children or other relatives, except husband or wife, able to support him, shall not be considered in determining

⁸² *Utah 1939 Suppl. to Rev. Statutes, 1933, sec. 76A 21.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*, sec. 762A 23 (a).

⁸⁵ *Utah Laws, 1939, c. 88.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, sec. 762A 27.

⁸⁷ Italics supplied.

⁸⁶ *Texas Acts, 1939, S.B. No. 9, sec. 3*

the applicant's eligibility for assistance.⁸⁸ The act further prohibits inquiry into the financial ability of the children or other relatives, except husband or wife, to support the applicant.

The Texas and Utah acts evidently are based on a different principle with regard to the responsibility of relatives from the one which determined federal policy. These acts also mark a bold and radical departure from the customary practices of welfare agencies in handling the problem of dependency. The rules and regulations which the agencies administering assistance under these acts have adopted thus become of special interest, although they cannot be discussed at this point.

⁸⁸ *Texas Acts, 1939*, S.B. No. 9, sec. 2.

PUBLIC WELFARE RESEARCH AND THE SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK¹

ANNE E. GEDDES

THIS paper deals with three basic questions of interest to schools of social work. First, what are the opportunities for research workers in the field of public welfare? Second, what are the requirements for research positions in public welfare agencies? Finally, what should the schools of social work do to prepare students to be research workers or to be intelligent consumers of research?

As a preliminary to discussion of these questions it is important to consider what we mean by research. Generally speaking, research is critical and intensive investigation and experimentation to discover new facts and relationships. In the field of public welfare research is the application of the scientific method to the problems of public welfare for the purpose of supplying the administrator and his staff with facts useful in formulating policies, in developing standards and techniques, in comparing policies and practices, in evaluating services and benefits supplied to the persons whom the programs are intended to serve, and in making recommendations for new legislative provisions. For example, research on the volume and kinds of visiting activity may aid the administrator in establishing a policy on revisits to cases under care; such data may indicate whether it is practical to review cases quarterly, semiannually, or less frequently. Analysis of frequency distributions of assistance payments may influence budgeting practices; if assistance payments in a county are found to be granted in multiples of \$10, the administrator may set up procedures for more precise methods of establishing the amount of need. Study of the use of staff time may supply a basis for allocating joint administrative expenses to the several programs for the purpose of obtaining federal matching on some

¹ A paper read at the annual meeting of the American Association of Schools of Social Work, Chicago, January 31, 1941. Other papers on research read at the same session will appear in succeeding numbers of the *Review*. Later, the series will be available, together, in reprint form.

of these programs. Research on differentials in assistance payments to whites and Negroes may indicate whether policy is being applied uniformly with respect to these two groups. Research on the characteristics of cases receiving home relief may indicate whether full advantage is being taken of other social provisions, such as the special types of public assistance and the social insurances, and may result in freeing state and local funds for other purposes. Research on the causes and degree of blindness of recipients of aid to the blind may lead to recommendations and support for legislation to provide medical services to improve or conserve vision.

The research worker in the field of public welfare is a person applying research techniques to the content of the public welfare programs. Since most public welfare programs deal with large numbers of persons, statistical measurement must play a large part in research in this field; but there is also need for the systematic collection in accordance with standard classifications and definitions of much descriptive information concerning legislative provisions, policies, and practices. Research material may be collected as a by-product of the administrative process or by procedures devised especially for this purpose. The research method reduces a mass of data, whether quantitative or qualitative in character, to manageable and intelligible proportions.

The line of demarcation between research and administration is not always clear, since research and administration merge at many points. The function of research, however, is to provide information in significant and useful form on the various aspects and problems of the programs; the administrative function is to weigh such information in the light of other relevant facts and to take such action on the basis of all considerations as seems to be desirable.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR RESEARCH WORKERS

Opportunities for research workers in public welfare may be considered from several points of view. What opportunity does the research worker have to render service? What is the outlook for the future for research workers? How many research positions are there in public welfare agencies? What salaries are research workers receiving?

Opportunities for service.—Potentially, there is infinite opportunity for the research worker to render service; practically, that opportunity is limited by his own capacities, by available resources in terms of supporting staff and budget, and sometimes by administrative restraints. The public welfare programs are dynamic and are undergoing constant evolutionary change. The research worker has singular opportunity both to interpret and to influence the direction of change.

Future outlook.—In the past decade the research function has developed very rapidly in public welfare agencies, and remarkable progress is now being made in the quality, character, and uses of data. In the public welfare field, however, research is still in its infancy, and its place in the administration of the welfare programs has by no means been established. Inasmuch as administrative operations may proceed from day to day with little or no research, administrators and appropriation bodies frequently are not convinced of the need for more than a minimum of fact-finding. In this, as in any other pioneer area, it is to be expected that general recognition of the value of research may lag behind the rendering of substantial service; but, in the long run, the place of research in public welfare administration will be determined by the contribution that it is able to make. The national defense program may retard the development of research in public welfare in the coming years. Already at the federal level funds for regular activities of government are being curtailed in favor of national defense. Research usually suffers when there is stringency of funds.

The student preparing to do research in public welfare should recognize that he is entering a young profession. This should serve as a challenge rather than as a deterrent. Because of the complexity and dynamic character of the public welfare programs, it seems probable that research will of necessity occupy an increasingly important place in their administration in the future.

Employment opportunities.—In planning education for research in public welfare it is important for the schools of social work to consider the demand for research workers. It should be pointed out that social research is conducted in many areas in addition to public welfare, and, consequently, that social-research opportunities are

far greater than those described here. Research in public welfare is carried on in state and local public welfare agencies, in the Children's Bureau, in some other federal agencies, and also in private research foundations and councils of social agencies. Unfortunately, no comprehensive data are available for the entire field. Discussion, therefore, is limited here to the state public welfare agencies and to the Social Security Board.

It is estimated that at present there are in state public welfare agencies administering public assistance approximately 120 full-time professional research workers. Of 52 state agencies for which data are available, 10 have no research personnel of professional grade; in these agencies statistical reports are prepared by clerical workers under the supervision of administrative personnel devoting only part time to this function. In the remaining 42 agencies the number of research workers is as follows: in 15 agencies there is 1 such worker; in 12 agencies there are 2; in 10 agencies there are 3 or 4; and in 5 agencies there are 5 or more. In addition to the professional research staffs there are, of course, clerical workers assisting in research processes.

No estimate can be made of the number of research workers in local public welfare agencies. Most local units employ no research personnel, but research is carried on in some of the large urban counties. The number of professional research workers in these units is probably small.

In the Social Security Board there are now about 50 professional staff members in organized research units dealing with public welfare problems. Of these, 11 are research consultants attached to regional offices and working intensively with state research personnel in the development of state research programs.

Salary opportunities.—In general, the salary ranges for research positions as for other positions in state public welfare agencies are low in relation to the functions to be performed. They are usually somewhat lower for the director of research and statistics than for the director of social services and for the director of accounting and finance.

For 42 public welfare agencies information is available on salary ranges for the director of research and statistics or other professional

worker acting in that capacity. In 15 agencies the salary range starts at less than \$2,400; in 16 agencies the range begins somewhere between \$2,400 and \$3,000; in 5 agencies between \$3,000 and \$3,600; and in only 6 agencies at \$3,600 or more. The highest state salaries are in excess of \$5,000. Salaries for junior professional personnel are lower than for the position of director of research and statistics, but the differentials between junior and senior positions are, on the whole, less wide than in the federal agencies.

In the Social Security Board salaries of research personnel engaged in research in public welfare began at \$2,000 in the lowest professional grade and at \$5,600 in the highest grade.

REQUIREMENTS FOR RESEARCH POSITIONS

Requirements for research positions vary substantially from state to state, depending upon the nature of the duties to be performed, the classification of the position, requirements for other personnel in the agency and in other governmental agencies in the state, and salary ranges.

In the majority of states the minimum educational requirement for the director of research and statistics is college graduation and in some states one year of graduate work. Some courses in economics, the social sciences, or social welfare administration are usually required. The great majority of states require knowledge of statistical theory and method, and for the director of research and statistics, administrative and supervisory ability. Knowledge of federal and state laws governing the programs is also a common requirement. That the states place a premium on broad educational background is indicated by the fact that in many of them graduate work in excess of the minimum basic educational requirements may be substituted for experience up to a maximum of two years.

For the position of director of research and statistics most states require previous research experience, and some require previous supervisory research experience.

Current requirements for research on public assistance in the Social Security Board are contained in Options 3 and 4 of the announcement of the Civil Service Commission (unassembled examination No. 16) for consultants in social services. From this examination per-

sonnel will be recruited for three professional grades with salaries starting at \$3,200, \$3,800, and \$4,600.

For Option 4, from which personnel will be selected for general research in public welfare administration, the educational requirements are completion of a full four-year course leading to a Bachelor's degree with at least fifteen semester hours' credit in graduate or undergraduate work in any one or in any combination of the following subjects: economics, sociology, social work, political science, or public administration; and, in addition, at least six semester hours in statistics, or three semester hours in statistics and three in social-research method.

Types of qualifying experience for Option 4 are research in administration of social services carried on in a research unit of a public or private social welfare agency of acceptable standards, in a research foundation, or in an accredited school of social work. Some experience may be substituted in the field of current social statistics in a public or private social welfare agency, or in a research organization under private auspices. For all grades at least one year of research in a public welfare agency is required. Graduate study in a university, including courses in the subjects specified above, or in a school of social work may be substituted for qualifying experience up to a maximum of two years, provided that such graduate study is in excess of the minimum necessary to meet the basic educational requirements.

Option 3, which is intended primarily for personnel for field surveys, places less emphasis on research experience than Option 4. Applicants must have completed a full four-year course leading to a Bachelor's degree, including or supplemented by at least one full year of study, undergraduate or graduate, in an accredited school of social work. If the social-work study was on an undergraduate basis, one year of additional experience is required. Types of qualifying experience for Option 3 include administration, supervision, or performance of social case-work services, or teaching in an accredited school of social work, and, in addition, research in administration of social services.

It will be noted that the consultant examination does not include the two lowest professional grades starting at \$2,000 and \$2,600. A

question vital to the schools of social work and needing examination is how to place students wishing to do research in the field of public welfare. For the lowest professional grade in all fields the Civil Service Commission gives a single examination for junior professional assistants; this examination has a large number of options. Inasmuch as the number of persons taking this examination is very large, there is considerable competition for available positions at this classification. Furthermore, because of the policy of promotions from within, practically all vacancies in the junior grades are filled from persons employed at lower classifications but able to meet the educational requirements. The young student is faced with a serious dilemma. In order to meet the federal requirements for general research positions in the higher classifications, he must have had some experience in a public welfare agency. Many state public welfare agencies have state residence requirements, and thus the opportunities for placement in a research and statistics unit of a state public welfare agency are very meager. There is an apparent shortage of qualified workers for research positions in many states, but this shortage may be induced in part by the residence requirement.

EDUCATION FOR RESEARCH

The schools of social work need to consider education for research from the point of view both of the student intending to become a research worker and of the student who as a social-work practitioner is a potential consumer of research.

Training of research workers.—As a basis for determining the kind of education needed by students intending to do research, it is important to examine the types of research conducted in a public welfare program and the duties of research workers engaged in carrying out such a program. The research program of a public welfare agency should embrace all the welfare programs and services which it administers. Research and statistical programs in public welfare agencies, however, are now focused primarily upon the assistance and relief programs. Discussion here, therefore, is limited to these programs. Types of research in the field of the assistances include analysis of gaps, overlapping, and competition among programs; effects of eligibility requirements on coverage and costs; extent of need,

numbers, and characteristics of recipients; amounts, standards, and adequacy of assistance; organization for performing the public assistance and related functions; methods of determining eligibility; flow and cost of operations; and methods of financing. A broad base of statistical and descriptive data is needed for research of these types.

Research is conducted by a series of complex processes following in orderly succession. In planning a project the research worker should explore with the administrator and social-work staff the problems needing study and should frame the questions on which illumination is needed. The end results desired should determine the intermediate steps to be taken. Several alternative approaches to the problem may need to be weighed. Then the concepts underlying the problem must be formulated, the project delimited, and the terms defined. Next steps include the preparation of schedules and instructions; collection of data by one or more of several methods; processing of data; classification, analysis, and interpretation of data; and finally preparation of a report. Successful conduct of research requires that all steps from start to finish be visualized before the collection of data begins.

To what extent can and should the schools of social work undertake to prepare students for research? The schools have an important contribution to make in such preparation; it is doubtful whether they should attempt responsibility for providing all the necessary professional training. Co-operation with the faculties of arts and sciences in the universities would seem to be essential, but there is perhaps need for more planned co-operation than at present exists. Education in economics and the social sciences can presumably best be given in the universities; education in social welfare and possibly in social-research method may best be given in the schools of social work.

The need of the research worker for background in economics and the social sciences is self-evident: The effectiveness of the programs in achieving their objectives and the efficiency of operation cannot be appraised by examining operations in a vacuum. The coverage of the programs, for example, must be considered in relation to the total population and to the needy segments of the population; simi-

larly, the cost of the programs must be considered in relation to the national income, the tax structure, and other governmental outlays. The administrator and the social-work staff must deal with factors lying outside the programs and can be assisted by having the research worker bring together material bearing upon problems of adjustment of the programs to society and to the economic structure of society.

Obviously the schools of social work have a unique opportunity to acquaint the student with the content of the public welfare field, including the philosophy of social work and trends in social-work thought, the legislative provisions under which public welfare programs operate, and social welfare and administrative practices. Such knowledge is absolutely essential to the intelligent conduct of research in the field of public welfare.

So much for general background and substantive content. How can the student best acquire knowledge of statistical and research method? This is a subject which I approach with humility, since I am not an educator. Many, if not most, of the schools of social work give courses in social statistics or arrange for students to take such courses with the faculty of arts and sciences. Thorough grounding in statistics is needed by students expecting to do research in public welfare. A mass of research material sufficient to justify the application of more than elementary methods of analysis has already been accumulated. Furthermore, funds for research are always limited, and it is of paramount importance that they be used as effectively and economically as possible. There must be increased use of sampling and other statistical techniques if results are to be adequate, valid, prompt, and abundant. At this point, however, I should like to stress that statistics is but one of the tools of research; it is not the substance.

Next let us turn to research method. It is my understanding that many, if not most, of the schools of social work give some work in social-research method. If the schools are to approach seriously the problem of training students to be research workers, more intensive training is needed. Education in research method should be conceived not in terms of a quarter's work but in terms of several quarters. Students preparing Master's theses commonly undertake a re-

search project, and this is admirable training for research. Should not research method be taught by the case method, with sustained, continuous, and intensive supervision? There is need for extended conferences with the student on the statement of the problem, development of concepts, consideration of the attack to be made on the problem, the method of conducting the inquiry, of analyzing and interpreting the results, and, last but not least, of preparing the report. Such guidance should be not incidental but intensive and should be given by a person who is a producer of research.

This raises the question of how the research project should be conducted by the student. The greatest contribution which the schools can make is to bring to a focal point background knowledge, knowledge of the public welfare field, and research techniques. This suggests that the project on which the student works should be related to a vital problem of public welfare administration and should ideally be conducted under controlled laboratory conditions in a research and statistics unit of a social welfare agency. The Social Science Research Council is about to publish a monograph outlining suggested research topics in public assistance that spring from the realities of the operating programs. A serious problem is to find such a laboratory as I have described with supervisory personnel having the time to give intensive guidance to students. Some schools of social work, I believe, now pay salaries of personnel in social agencies to supervise student case workers; does this not give a clue to the solution of the laboratory problem for research?

Certainly a part of the training of research workers is to acquaint them with the craftsmanship of the profession. Theory is not enough. Poor craftsmanship may invalidate the project, even though the fundamental thinking is sound. In the large-scale research projects of federal agencies there is considerable stress on craftsmanship in each stage of development, but on such projects research is conducted on the conveyor-belt principle, and few junior workers have opportunity to work at more than one or two points along the belt line. Some apprenticeship is needed to acquaint the student with the various technical methods of production.

For a few exceptionally mature students it might be worth while for schools of social work to organize a research seminar in which

projects of the students comprising the seminar might be discussed in all stages of development. Research as carried on in practice is largely a group process, and there is advantage to accustoming the students at an early stage to take the criticisms and suggestions of their colleagues.

Research training for social-work practitioners.—Finally, what should schools of social work do to train students intending to become social-work practitioners to enable them to be intelligent consumers of research? Out of this group will come the administrators and directors of social services in the future. If they are to occupy important positions in the field it is important for them to have a critical attitude and a forward look in order that there may be progressive development of the programs. The function of research is to supply data useful in evaluation of current operations, to devise new techniques of administration, to predict the effects of new developments, and to be generally in the advance guard. Leaders among the practitioners should avail themselves of research and should stimulate research. This means that they must understand how to use research. To be a consumer of any product it is not necessary to know how to produce that product. In order to learn how to be a consumer of research the student of social-work practice does not necessarily need courses in statistics and research method but rather courses in which research material having a bearing upon the problems which will confront him as a practitioner are critically examined, taken apart, and applied. This process should stimulate him to look upon research as an aid in meeting problems.

My last suggestion is that if the schools of social work are earnestly interested in developing both producers and consumers of research there should be a closer link between the schools and the research agencies in the public welfare field. Collaborative planning might result in an advance in the focus and content of education for production and consumption of research.²

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
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² The views expressed in this article are those of the writer and not necessarily those of the Social Security Board.

SOME BASIC PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL RESEARCH IN SOCIAL CASE WORK¹

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

ANY one course of study in the curriculum of a professional school has certain objectives within itself as a specialty. It has also a contribution to other courses and a relationship to the curriculum as a whole. Social research is well established in its own right as an essential subject for all students in the field of social welfare. I assume that there is general agreement with the point of view expressed by some of the leaders in the educational field who long have contended that the field of social research including social statistics is important for every social worker: first, because the profession has a responsibility beyond service to the individual case, establishing a need for careful research which should be done by social workers. In this field as elsewhere valid research is dependent on firsthand knowledge of one's own materials; second, because the statistical literature of our profession should be read competently in order that arguments marshaled fallaciously in support of reform measures may be examined critically.²

A realization of the need for social case work to be implemented with a social-research point of view has emerged from a gradual understanding of the limitations of social case work as a major factor in effecting social change. It is recognized that if social case work is to serve more than a palliative or limited remedial purpose—if it is to contribute to broad remedial and preventive measures—it must be administered by people with a twofold orientation: (1) professional knowledge and skills in meeting the needs of a given case in so far as is possible; (2) the capacity for seeing a case in relation to other cases and in relation to common factors producing social

¹ A paper read at the National Conference of Social Work, Grand Rapids, June 1, 1940. The title of the paper has been changed.

² Edith Abbott, "Some Basic Principles," in *Social Welfare and Professional Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), pp. 51-52; see also "Social Statistics," *ibid.*, pp. 131-73.

dilemma. Into every case a professionally trained social case worker is expected to carry an inquiring mind. The nature of his whole approach to the case and the handling of it should be shaped by a two-fold purpose—to serve and to learn. Accordingly, his mind would be focused upon determining what this case contributes to our knowledge and understanding of human beings; what this case contributes to our knowledge and understanding of social forces; and always he would ask what does this case have in common with other cases which permits us to generalize some common need justifying further study to determine the *need* for social measures. It is the responsibility of the members of this profession to convey the need and to present findings intelligently and convincingly so as to stimulate action.

In describing the need for this fine integration of social case work and social research I am not stating that this desirable goal has been attained in any measure. Not all schools of social work are training social case workers in social research, either through courses in social investigation and social statistics or through bringing a research point of view into social case-work investigation and treatment. Certainly, as one looks into the social case-work field one does not gain the impression that the profession as a whole is fulfilling its research function. I do not believe that I am distorting the truth when I say that it is not unusual for the members of a social case-work agency to be narrowly engrossed in serving each case as an end in itself—an end to be filed away in a steel cabinet against the inroads of time. I base this statement on several factors: notably the nature of much of the literature which emerges from our field, the nature of our recording (our records alone could almost affirm this point), and the fact that few social reforms have drawn on the rich evidence available in social case-work agencies, as a result of which perhaps they have been more tardy than necessary. I would say that many a case worker satisfies his professional sense when he has closed the case and that he gratifies his intellectual curiosity (sometimes to the point of satiation) when he has figured out to the n^{th} degree the behavior motivations and the particular combination of factors which have produced this or that “interesting case situation.”

A narrow absorption in case load is justified repeatedly in terms of job pressures. We recognize that the nature of our professional education has been another important factor. Today we see the need for the social case worker to be trained in methods of social investigation and to have sufficient work in social statistics to enable him to understand how to collect and interpret scientific data relating to modern social conditions.³ Our educational purpose has not been served, however, when we merely add these courses to parallel our case-work curriculum. There must be some integration of the two fields of study if the case worker is to take into his day-by-day, case-by-case, task the kind of focus and perspective that will enable him to fulfil his research function within the case-work process as well as attain more scientific understanding in his case work. Admittedly, the student in the last analysis will do the integrating, and, therefore, I do not minimize the importance of these two fields of study existing side by side because the student who has been able to assimilate the content of each field inevitably will integrate the two to some extent. Our wishful assumption is that he will be a different sort of case worker because he has had certain content in social research, just as he will be more aware of the potentialities and limitations of social-research methods because he has been a case worker. Even so, perhaps within schools of social work more might be done to further this integrative process. In this paper I shall attempt to explore the relationship between the two fields with the purpose of determining wherein we utilize common thought processes and wherein we differ. Perhaps in the process of comparative thinking some suggestions for integrating the two fields will emerge.

Consider first the mental equipment of the social investigator as described by the Webbs in their *Methods of Social Study*.⁴ Raising the question as to what is the ideal state of mind with which the student should start on the exploration of any piece of social organization, they specify three requisites: (1) he must be able to focus his attention on what he sees, reads, or hears; (2) he must set himself to ascertain the facts, for without them he cannot discover the

³ See Abbott, "Social Statistics," *ibid.*

⁴ Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Methods of Social Study* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1932), chap. ii.

solution of any problem or obtain any useful answer to any general question; (3) he must realize that he is biased, and he must manage to discount this bias.

In elaborating the first point it is stated that investigators tend to be inattentive because they "*theorize* instead of trying to *experience*." They try to attend, but some idea strikes them; and instead of listening to what follows, they proceed to build upon it some notion of their own, and this notion absorbs them. Their resultant theory is based on their own experience, not on the facts, so that from all writing and speaking "they get only what they have brought to it." This tendency is attributed in part by the authors to their belief that most people unconsciously would rather retain their own conclusions than learn anything contrary to them.

In discussing the second and third points—the need to ascertain facts and to rule out bias—the authors emphasize that a danger point at the very onset of social study lies in the false start involved in asking leading questions through which the investigator is led to focus on what he already had in mind or in accordance with his bias. In any complex subject one can secure endless facts verifying almost any hypothesis and justifying almost every conclusion. It is a law of the mind that other things being equal, those facts which seem to bear out our own preconceived ideas will make a deeper impression than opposing ideas. They advise the student to give up asking those questions in which he is particularly interested, reserving them until later, and instruct him to "choose a particular section of the social environment and sit down patiently in front of it to acquire all possible information about it." They maintain that it is only in this way that one can ascertain the "laws" that underlie this particular manifestation of nature. By concentration on the facts as they present themselves and by arousing intellectual curiosity about the facts as facts, one's own bias will be "put out of gear." The investigator's original questions may be used later as tentative hypotheses among other hypotheses, to be tested out against the facts as he proceeds. The authors assert that inevitably the investigator brings bias to his task and, therefore, there is need for self-knowledge. Here the authors encounter what they consider a possible obstacle to discovery, which they believe is the very opposite

of personal bias and for which due allowance is seldom made. They question whether one can adequately appreciate feelings, emotions, or intellectual experiences which he has not himself experienced in some degree. They state that a sensitive mind and broad human sympathies coupled with width and variety of experience form part of the equipment of the ideal investigator as they do that of the greatest novelist or dramatist. Referring to Hazlitt's essay on "Shakespeare," they quote:

The striking peculiarity of Shakespeare's mind was its generic quality, its power of communication with all other minds—so that it contained a universe of thought and feeling within itself, and had no one peculiar bias, or exclusive excellence, more than another. He was just like any other man but that he was like all other men. . . . He not only had in himself the germs of every faculty and feeling, but he could follow them by anticipation, intuitively, into all their conceivable ramifications. . . . [William Hazlitt, *Lectures on the English Poets*].⁵

While the authors grant that the social investigator cannot be a Shakespeare, they caution him against the blindness and deafness which result from imperfect sympathies, maintaining that not even for extirpating their own personal bias should they lose their "abiding sense of human fellowship."

Consider these ideas in relation to our concept of what constitutes an ideal state of mind for the social worker as he proceeds into a case with a threefold purpose: (1) to understand the case situation so as to help the individual in terms of his need rather than in terms of the worker's need; (2) to understand through this case *something more* of human nature and *something more* of the social forces that mold it and are in turn influenced or even determined by it; (3) to consider this case in relation to other cases with a question as to its social implications. Certainly, we encounter in students and everlastingly in ourselves the need to focus attention so that we observe the facts as they are rather than in terms of our preconceived notions. We know the limitations of the case worker who finds in every case only what he brings to it and who is absorbed in proving his own theories rather than in formulating theories as they emerge from facts. We are familiar with the unconscious resistance to new

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

ideas, to new findings, to new solutions, both in the classroom and in the field. We are acquainted with the impulse to seize on the plausible and the self-evident to justify our services, particularly when the pressure of the client's need makes some immediate help imperative. In our interviewing practices we have experienced the limitations of leading questions and too inquisitorial methods and realize to what extent they can obstruct our understanding of the client through leading him astray, through inducing him to talk for our benefit rather than for his own, and through inhibiting him from expressing what he really wants, thinks, and feels. We too must struggle with bias, prejudice, and all those lay attitudes which we bring to the field and which are overcome only gradually and partially, so that there is lifelong need to contend with them. We share with those in the social-research field an appreciation of the potentialities of that capacity to identify with others without becoming personally involved—in short, we have found that the social case worker must feel with others without feeling like them if he is to help rather than hinder those whom he serves. Our conviction is that if he is to attain a Shakespearian quality of mind even in small measure it will be in so far as he extirpates his biases, for an "abiding sense of human fellowship" is contingent thereon. Apparently in both fields of study the initial demands on the worker have much in common as we proceed through that first common phase of our work—the ascertaining of facts in which recognition of bias and conscious control of our feelings is implicit. We function in quite different settings, however, and it is reasonable to suppose that the struggle to attain the "ideal state of mind" pursues a different course in each setting. It might be well to consider some of these differences.

First, with reference to that tendency to focus attention only partially and to seize on some notion of one's own from which to theorize, rather than to explore patiently all the facts before theorizing: The social case worker is confronted with human beings in the impact of social pressures which engender acute and imperative needs. There is the pressure of time, the pressure of the client's disturbed feelings, and the pressure of the worker's own feelings which are heightened so that, although the invaluable tendency to identify is intensified, it is rendered all the more liable to personal involve-

ment. May it not in this setting be more difficult not to inject one's own notions, first, as a timesaver. It may be quicker to draw conclusions from one's own experience and feelings than to explore another's experience and feelings; second, the case worker must act on the basis of partial knowledge of facts. He must begin to theorize earlier and, once having theorized, may it not be more difficult to question one's theories after action involving other lives has taken place? Perhaps it would require a greater degree of objectivity later to admit erroneous thinking than if only an abstraction were involved. The more intense identification may also engender need to advance one's own notions, experiences, and biases, for in so far as he finds himself in the client the worker may be prone to project his own values, wants, and solutions, thus obscuring the facts as they are. While the case-work setting throws into bold relief his biases and any tendency to overidentify so that these obstructing factors may be discerned readily, still the worker's enhanced feelings about them may impede him in facing and mastering them.

The avoidance of leading questions which anticipate answers is as desirable in the case-work field as in the field of social research. Again certain pressures make it difficult for the social case worker to refrain from their use. The organization's need for certain information, the fact that social case-work investigation is pointed toward the securing of certain immediate answers or solutions, the worker's intellectual curiosity, which prompts him to test out newly acquired theories, the pressure of time, and the impact of numbers being served may prompt the worker to short-cut with leading questions into what he thinks is the core of the difficulty.

Moving now into next steps in scientific thinking we will consider again this way of thinking in relation to the field of social case work. In their discussion of how to study social facts, the Webbs discuss five points:⁶ (1) they emphasize first that, regardless of the motive which prompts the choice of a particular subject, to be "scientifically fruitful" it should not be a social problem to which a solution must be found or a question to which the investigator desires an answer. Instead, it should take the form of a particular social institution or fragment thereof to be studied intensively in its structure

⁶ *Ibid.*, chap. iii, pp. 54-75.

and functions and under all its aspects. It is implied that solutions and answers may or may not emerge from the material. It is stated that only thus can the investigator be reasonably free from bias. (2) The subject should be limited, practicable, modest, a relatively small piece of social organization within the scope of the student investigator. (3) No progress can be made in dealing with facts without classification, which implies generalization. They consider this process an instrument of investigation, not an end in itself, but emphasize that any classification, definition, or generalization must be tentative and subject to perpetual revision. (4) An indispensable instrument of research most essential at the very start of an investigation and important throughout is the hypothesis, which is defined as "any tentative supposition by aid of which we endeavor to explain facts by discovering their orderliness" (A. Wolf, *Essentials of Scientific Method* [1925]).⁷ Without the guidance of a hypothesis the investigator would not know what to observe, what to look for, or what experiments to make in order to discover order in nature. The investigator must have in mind not one hypothesis but many mutually inconsistent ones. (5) An investigation involves the use of questions—direct questions of people who presumably know the facts and the use of questionnaires. In discussing interviewing they stress several principles of interest to case workers, notably: avoid vague general questions, for replies will be vague. Avoid questions which have meaning to the inquisitor but not to the recipient. Avoid naïve questions which ask for information beyond the recipient's scope or which arouse suspicions and defenses. They note that some questions shut off answers, particularly those which are too specific and which frequently bring only that information and nothing else in areas in which the informant might have other relevant information. Instead, they state that it is better to convey the idea of what information is wanted and let the recipient elaborate his information spontaneously.

Considering these ideas in relation to the social case-work field, we note several aspects which stimulate comparative thinking. I believe we would agree that on the whole there is a common process: every case comprises a whole case situation (not merely a social

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

problem) to be explored for all available facts; we are aided in the acquisition and interpretation of facts in so far as we enter a case with significant questions and fruitful hypotheses. Case-work investigation like social research if it is to be more than mere fact-finding calls for imagination, for the ability to see a problem and to devise hypotheses that are worth testing. It implies also knowledge of certain technical skills, intelligence, recognition of bias, and a capacity to control our relationship not only to the information revealed but also to the individuals concerned. Case work like effective social research is directed toward answering significant questions, but herein may lie a difference. A case presents certain problems for which at least a partial solution frequently must be found. Concern for the comfort and welfare of the client exerts pressure so that a case worker almost inevitably desires an answer. He is vitally concerned that solutions emerge from the material. For this reason some social scientists maintain that case work cannot be scientific. If case workers need to defend their initial thinking because action was taken, then perhaps this is so. But if case workers consciously make decisions on the basis of partial knowledge and in accordance with hypotheses that cannot yet be tested adequately, with full awareness of the tentativeness of their thinking and with a readiness to revise thinking and action as the case situation unfolds, then their work is not necessarily unscientific. It may be experimental but scientifically so. Furthermore, this difference would not be acknowledged by many scientists who maintain that valid research does seek answers and that it becomes a futile end in itself when it has no focalized quest. In this connection I quote William James, who stated, "If you want an absolute duffer in an investigation, you must, after all, take the man who has no interest whatever in its results; he is the warranted incapable, the positive fool."⁸ The distinction between the two then would in the opinion of some scientists be a matter of the degree of pressure for immediate answers. This emergent pressure for answers and solutions in social case work does not necessarily induce biased thinking and acting, but we do grant that it may be more difficult not to inject bias and not to project one's self into the situation under these circumstances. In the field

⁸ *The Will To Believe* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897), p. 21.

of case work the worker may not be so protected as in the field of social research in choosing a subject within his scope. A seemingly simple case situation assigned by a supervisor with view to the worker's limitations may prove to be highly complex, presenting demands of every sort and resulting in the creation of a feeling of pressure within the worker as he struggles with his lack of knowledge and skill in relation to the case realities. In this instance he may fall back on biased thinking and subjective relationship. The social case worker has a less protected position in another respect. The research worker can narrow his field of inquiry at his will. He can exclude many related questions, closing his study with professional responsibility fulfilled in having explored a limited area and in merely having indicated other aspects that could well be studied. In contrast, although the case worker enters the case through the focal point of the client's need in relation to the agency's function, still he must be ever alert to discover whether the professed need is the real need and whether this service is the indicated service. Thus he may be led into a wider field of inquiry in order to determine appropriate action. With regard to principles of interviewing, we note much common ground. The cautions noted by the Webbs are cautions deeply engraved behind the ears of every social case worker. The case worker early learns that he gets valid diagnostic material in so far as he is therapeutic in his approach to people. The specialist in social research frequently has not learned this to the same extent as has the case worker. In this area the field of case work has much to offer the field of social research. The principles of interviewing derived in social case work should carry over into this other field and be strengthened through being widely useful. Time prohibits any further description of the tortuous path to "the ideal state of mind" through the case-work area. In both fields we are struggling for the same qualities of mind, and, therefore, any basic gains in either field will contribute to the student's effectiveness in the other field. In the long run the case-work setting may help the student or worker in that it affords a rich opportunity to experience and work through the feelings which complicate an objective way of thinking. Gradually he may gain self-understanding, outgrow biases, and enlarge his capacity for objective relationships

not only to people but also to knowledge. When this occurs his qualifications for social research inevitably are enhanced, in fact, compensating insights making for a deeper objectivity may have been gained to offset the limitations of a setting which makes an impersonal approach impossible. A case worker must individualize without personalizing, but in so doing he can never be impersonal in the strict sense of the term. For this very reason he may do more valid research in the field of social welfare in not producing something as far removed from human life as a table of logarithms. Herein may lie strength which the social scientist lacks. Likewise the discipline of social research may clarify his thinking and feeling in case work, making him not only a more intelligent worker but also a more imaginative and less weary one; two instances in a student-training situation are cited to show the contribution of social research to the professional orientation of the individual.

The first student had returned to the school for his second year of graduate work from a position as case worker in a small institution which prior to this time had had no social-work program. His attempts to establish one had failed owing partially, he thought, to the opposition of staff members; he felt that in time, however, he could have handled this opposition. In the last analysis he concluded that there had perhaps been no real need for this service, an explanation which apparently was not wholly convincing at least to himself, for he chose to study this institution in fulfilment of the Master's thesis requirements. It soon became clear that he brought the prejudices of a painful experience to the task and that he was unconsciously dedicated to proving to himself and the world that there was no real need for this service and that the opposition encountered emerged from the imposition of the program rather than from his own ways of working. Directed and redirected in the evaluation of his facts and challenged repeatedly on his false premises, he grew deeply troubled, so much so that at one point he retreated and temporarily gave up the task. He could not decide on another subject, regravitating to this one with an obvious urge to find and face himself in relation to this experience. Although the study is not completed, real progress has been made; and in the course of looking at the situation as it really is and as he has learned much not only

in the areas of research method, social case work, and social administration, but also about himself as a professional person. He now expresses the wish that he might try that job again. While in general we might not encourage students to undertake research subjects to which they bring undue bias and involvement, still this instance raises many questions, and it illustrates in an extreme degree what may happen to some extent in any piece of research which affords the student the opportunity to see beyond the issues of the individual case or the pressures and entanglements of the job into general principles of social organization and case-work practice.

The second student had been an able case worker who brought considerable experience into her training. During four quarters of field work in a clinic she had functioned effectively on the whole. There was some wear and tear expressed in her response to administrative procedures and some tendency to quarrel with the "rigidity" of clinic routines and functions. She chose to study the work of the clinic over a two-year period. In the analysis of many cases there came a gradual comprehension that much ineffective work was occurring through laxity of regime and the tendency toward undefined function. In many instances the treatment had failed because the workers were outreaching their function rather than working within its limits. She learned in this study what no one case or the combination of cases in her load had conveyed to her even though some of her own cases could well have established these points. Seeing the job as a whole—evaluating cases in which she was not personally involved—enabled her to see for the first time the therapeutic significance of administrative procedures and well-defined professional function. It brought comprehension also of some of the needs within case workers which operate against the utilization of procedures and agency function in the interests of the case. Through an objective evaluation of the work of others she moved into a more objective evaluation of her own work. She found in this study help which she was unable to derive through supervision on her own case load. Repeatedly, students comment that in the process of their research they experience a clarification of the interrelatedness of much of the curriculum content. Courses or fields of study which formerly stood apart come together and enlighten one another.

In conclusion it would seem that the scientific thinking of social research can be utilized in social case work although it is granted that many pressures in the latter field combine to endanger its preservation. This points to the need for the supportive help which courses in social investigation and social statistics can give. This discipline serves not only the purpose of preparing the social case worker for the research function of his profession but also may serve to strengthen his case work in affirming a scientific approach. Whether or not this second purpose is realized may depend to some extent on measures utilized by educators in schools of social work.

With reference to ways of facilitating the integration of the two fields the following suggestions and questions emerge from this comparative thinking.

1. The thesis is a commonly recognized measure of affording the social case worker not only an experience in applying research method but also in intrenching this way of thinking so that it may be more readily utilized in case-work process. It may also clarify areas in which he has become emotionally entangled and help him become more aware of biases and of tendencies to overidentify and project self.

2. Since the attainment of capacity for scientific thinking is dependent in large measure on overcoming bias, we are concerned with helping the student become less subject to this reaction. It has been recognized that prejudices may be rooted to a considerable extent in ignorance, therefore the acquisition of knowledge through a curriculum broad in scope is essential. Not only will biases lessen as ignorance diminishes but also the student will be less prone to cling to these old sources of security in so far as he gains professional security on a basis of new knowledge and skills. It is natural to clutch at one's own notions, interpret in terms of one's own experience, and react subjectively in response to a personal set of values if that is all one brings to case work.

3. In case-work courses it is essential that instructors direct the students in a scientific way of thinking. As we teach, to what extent are we absorbed in each case as an end itself? Do we help students look out from this one situation to the broader social implications? As a result of the pronounced emphasis on the highly individual

nature of each case situation inherent in the very nature of case work, students sometimes approach each new case as though it were a strange constellation of beings, the like of whom they never had encountered. To counteract this tendency may it not be important, in spite of the individual nature of each case as a whole, that they be helped to find the universal elements which permeate the unique whole?

Furthermore, through the material on any given case, do we seek to learn *something more* of human nature and *something more* of social forces, or do we instead use the case material merely to confirm existent knowledge and prove present theories? Do we stimulate students to raise significant questions and test the facts against varied and contradictory hypotheses or are we dedicated to one hypothesis?

In connection with our teaching methods should we not be troubled as case-work instructors when a student is unable to think of a research subject? Devoid of ideas, some students turn apathetically to a faculty adviser to be told what to study. In these instances may we infer too readily that this is the student's problem? May it not be our problem, and do we not need to ask ourselves wherein we have failed?

4. As field-work supervisors do we react to the pressures of time and the client's dilemma by sending students out merely to collect facts? Do we direct them to look for certain things rather than to observe what is there? May we not utilize the more desirable method of thinking through the case as a whole, raising many significant general questions (not specific leading questions) and thereby getting the student to formulate varied hypotheses? Thus he might go into the case situation with imagination stimulated, with attention focused on hearing and observing accurately, relatively more free to think because he is not dedicated to a particular assumption in order to fulfil or oppose the supervisor's preference. In so far as the student brings to this task personal prejudices which are not diminished through widened knowledge, this method should make more discernible his biases both to himself and to his supervisor. If we offer a choice of hypotheses, absorption in proving one's own theories will be thrown into bold relief.

In the last analysis we might say that the values which social research has in education for social case work will depend not merely on the content of specific research courses but also on the degree to which case-work instructors and supervisors incorporate a scientific approach in the case-work process. It is recognized that a school of social work does not complete the education of a social worker and that the student's adherence to this way of thinking will depend to some extent on the leadership which he experiences in the profession. Since scientific discipline has only partially permeated the field, it may be some time before present educational gains will be realized in practice.

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RURAL HOUSING CONDITIONS IN AN ILLINOIS TOWNSHIP¹

LARUE SPIKER

INCREASING interest in housing plus the realization that not all those dwelling in rural areas are living in green pastures has focused interest on rural housing in comparatively recent years. However, most studies and practically all concrete measures for correction have been confined to urban centers where overcrowding and the existence of slum areas with their concomitant evils make housing a spectacular problem. Although the Federal Housing Authority has been of undoubted benefit to a certain group, it has scarcely touched the problem where help is most sorely needed. The Rural Electrification Administration is performing a valuable service, but only to those who can afford to pay. There is hope, indeed, for a certain group of country dwellers, but for the others, what?

This study of Central² Township was undertaken to determine conditions as to crowding and housing facilities in a rural and somewhat deteriorated township populated principally by native whites (located in west-central Illinois). Because of the limitations in scope it perhaps does not show a picture that may be considered typical of rural Illinois, but it does reveal conditions that may be regarded as fairly general in certain economically poor agricultural regions in this and probably in many other states.

The township, a six-mile square, is located about nine miles from a sizeable shopping center and contains no towns at all within its boundaries. The advent of work relief and the Works Progress Administration have brought some graveled roads to the township, but there are still many miles of poorly graded clay roads that become almost impassable to automobiles during wet seasons. The 652 persons³ living in the township depend largely on grain and stock

¹ The material used in this article is condensed from Miss Spiker's Master of Arts field study, of the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago in 1940.

² Name fictitious.

³ By count on the study.

raising for a livelihood, although farming in most of the township can be called such by courtesy only. There is a wedge of good farm land in the northwest section of the township, but in general the land is rough, badly eroded, and sterile. There is some coal in the southeast, but it is soft and the veins are narrow and honeycombed with old, dangerous works. Often the roads are impassable during the selling season.

There are 200 inhabitable houses in the township. Of these, 180 were occupied and were covered in this study; material was gathered on 16 unoccupied inhabitable houses. Two families were not at home on repeated visits, and two families refused to give the desired information.

The schedule covered occupant composition; tenure and acreage; location and surroundings of the house; construction; space, light, and ventilation; sleeping space and available beds; and facilities.

I

Perhaps no other single factor is more important to the dweller in a rural region than tenure of the property upon which he is living. It assumes an importance all out of proportion to the understanding of the city dweller, who, if less than well-to-do, feels encumbered by property. To the rural dweller ownership means a more certain income and a place to plant his feet where no one can say him nay.

About an equal number in the township were owners and non-owners. Had the study been made twenty or thirty years ago the proportion of owners would have probably been much higher. Several factors may account for the decrease in the number of owners. Some farms were taken over by the mortgagees, although the former owner may continue as occupant. Then, too, improvements in transportation have made possible absentee management. Yet, ask almost any farmer if he prefers owning or renting his place, and he will probably reply that he would rather own, particularly if the title is free of encumbrance. A mortgage against your farm is almost as much worry as an assignment against your wages.

Considering the poor quality of the soil, it is somewhat surprising that the township has as large a proportion of owners, and owners with free title. On the other hand, this very soil poverty may tend

to discourage tenancy. Certainly a good tenant farmer would hesitate to rent some of these farms on either a crop-sharing or a cash-rent basis. In addition, many of the owned properties are small, ranging from a plot of ground the size of a city lot to a small truck farm. In such cases there is neither opportunity nor incentive for renting the place. Its primary function is that of furnishing a home. Somewhat less than half the homes that were owned had some type of encumbrance—such as a mortgage or shared ownership—against the title.

The material gathered on acreage is probably quite inaccurate if taken case by case. Most of those interviewed were the women, who showed decided uncertainty as to the amount of land in the property. However, it would seem that their estimates were close enough to the actual figure to make grouping safe. On the basis of this we may say that 45 per cent of the properties included 70-174 acres.

On good land a well-managed farm within this acreage range yields a moderate income. However, a large share of the land in Central Township is poor. Much of it is worth little or nothing even as pasture because of the soil type and lack of fences. As estimated from a topographical map of this region published by the Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Illinois⁴ over half the soil in the township is yellow silt loam, which experience has shown to be sterile without extensive and systematic fertilization. At this point a vicious circle sets in. You have a poor farm and little capital; you cannot buy fertilizers to increase your crops; without increased crops your income remains too low to buy fertilizers. In addition, this type of soil is subject to quick erosion. A large portion of the township is hilly and rolling. If your farm is on hills, what are you to do?

A poor farm generally means a poor house. Tenure and acreage are closely related to a farmer's income and consequently to his standard of living, especially if the soil is poor. A small farm on poor soil must be extremely well managed to meet taxes, mortgage interest, and upkeep, to say nothing of having something in addition for livelihood. In Central Township, with poor land more common than

⁴ *McDonough County Soils* (University of Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station, Soil Report No. 7, 1913), pp. 6-7.

good land, there is a combination of fairly small farms with a fairly large portion of encumbered titles. This may be regarded as a contributing factor to the unsatisfactory housing conditions.

Probably the thing the city dweller shudders about most frequently in rural living is the loneliness, i.e., to him the comparative isolation from social intercourse; and the thing that looks the most peculiar to him is the arrangement of a number of buildings only one of which is used as a dwelling for the household. With improved means of communication and transportation the isolation is considerably less acute now, although in certain regions it still would fall far short of meeting the needs of an urban-bred person. Building arrangement has probably changed little in the past years; there may have been a slight decrease in buildings used for housekeeping purposes and an increase in those used in the farming processes.

As already stated the principal shopping center is nine miles from the principal road in the township. Part of this road is graveled and the rest is being prepared for graveling. About 85 per cent of the people in the township have an automobile or truck of some sort. However, 64 per cent of the population live on dirt roads. Only those who have tried to drive on muddy roads know the inconvenience. In this township the dirt roads when wet by a heavy rain are impassable to the low-built modern cars. At certain seasons the roads become impassable to almost all motor-driven vehicles. Twelve per cent of the families have no means of transportation at all. This proportion is high in itself. When bad roads are added the degree of isolation is fairly severe.

The existence of an adequate inclosure guarding the yard of the house may mean the difference between use of the yard by the family or by the chickens and stock. In judging this factor, the houses were put in one of two groups. Either the fencing was adequate to keep out stock, including chickens, or it was not. In the former case the fence need not necessarily surround the yard if it separated the yard from those places in which stock was kept. In the latter case were included those homes where the fencing was once adequate but in bad state of repair at the time of the study, inadequate in the first place, or never erected. Those cases with adequately fenced yards were about equal in number to those without good fences.

About 60 per cent of those places with adequate fencing were occupied by the owners. About 36 per cent of the owners had inadequate fences; while the fences were inadequate for 64 per cent of the nonowned houses.

Residents in towns and cities regard walks as a birthright. They need not wade in knee-deep mud to pay a spring visit to a neighbor. Country people are less naïve. In the first place, they, or their landlords, must put in the walks themselves. In the second place, the walks, to be serviceable, must lead some place at a greater distance from the house than to a city sidewalk. Often a brick or concrete walk had been laid a few feet out from the door but faded into a few planks leading the rest of the way to the gate, pump, or toilet. The G. family had a good concrete walk leading from the back door (the entrance generally used in farm homes) to the edge of the house yard. The toilet and pump were both across the barnyard. In this case the walk almost lost its function, for the well was two hundred feet away. On the other hand, the C. family has a concrete walk leading to their toilet, to the well, and clear across the barnyard to the barn. Lucky housewife!

About 49 per cent of the homes had brick or concrete walks of some type. Of these there were 46 cases in which the occupants were owners and 35 in which they were not. Brick and concrete are not only the longest-lasting material types but the easiest and safest to walk on. About 10 per cent of the cases had only stone or board walks. The stone walks were not carefully landscaped flagstones but merely flat stones resting on the surface of the ground or slightly sunken by the action of the elements. Generally the board walks were boards of more or less convenient width thrown on the ground. Speed and safety are impossible on either type. Altogether, about 37 per cent of the homes had no walks at all. Of these 21 were owned and 37 nonowned.

Outbuildings are an inevitable concomitant of rural houses. An attempt was made to enumerate the number and type of outbuildings on the house premises. The difficulty lay in determining where such premises became something else. Often the fence was so close to the house that it was impracticable as a line of demarcation, for a fence does not shut off odors or an appearance of a cluttered yard.

Out of the total 196 cases 31 had no outbuildings on the premises and 67 had only one; 56 had two; 32 had three; and 10 had four or more. Of the buildings there were 98 store sheds (generally used for coal, cobs, wood, or junk). Smokehouses for the curing of meat and sometimes also used as store sheds were second in frequency, and toilets were a close third.

II

Of the 196 houses all were frame structures except three, which were tile, brick, and log, respectively. There are no particular objections to frame houses as such, but they do require periodic painting and repairs. The fire hazard is somewhat higher in frame houses than in tile or brick. An attempt was made to ascertain the last date of refinishing, but the results are too scattered and approximate to be of value. Most tenants, of course, did not know. Many of the owners had forgotten. This can be said: many gallons of house paint could be well used in the township. The weatherboarding of many of the houses was so gray and cracked an observer might conclude that paint had never harassed many a long useful life.

It is interesting to note the different types of foundations, for the material put into the foundation gives some indication of the resources upon which the builder was able to draw. For example, a certain type of rather hard sandstone is fairly plentiful in parts of the township. In addition to the disadvantages of the material and a lack of craftsmanship in cutting it such foundations usually consist of one or several piled stones supporting the houses at the corners with perhaps a few reinforcing pillars between. The disadvantages are obvious. A cold wind swooping under the floor in winter does not provide a warm floor. The pillars are less secure support than a complete foundation, and sandstone wears when exposed to the weather. A space under the house is tempting as a store place for old but cherished lumber, bits of fencing, and battered washtubs. Since some of the cornerstone foundations were made of brick, only part of the criticisms applies to all foundations of this type. There were 104 foundations made of cement, brick, or tile. These may be considered as structurally sound. There were 87 stone, wooden, or cornerstone foundations. They were less satisfactory, although they may serve to support the house for a period of years.

Comfort for the dwellers as well as outlay for repairs will depend to a certain degree on the type of roofing material. Wooden or shingle roofs are good roofs if the occupants are able to keep them repaired, but if they are not cared for they may become an additional fire hazard. No differentiation was made of composition roofs; it includes the expensive composition shingles as well as cheap processed paper applied in strips. Although the latter probably provides a lower fire hazard, it is also less permanent than good wooden shingles. The metal roofs range from tin shingles to strips of corrugated metal. Such roofs, if painted occasionally, are permanent and impervious to flying sparks. However, they tend to raise the house temperature under a summer sun. Wood was by far the commonest material, and composition was second although far less frequent. Owned houses and nonowned houses were about evenly divided in material types for roofs.

All the houses in the township were constructed as single-family dwellings, but they varied considerably in size. Although the number of stories contained in the house is not a measurement of the size of the house, it is an interesting descriptive factor. In the study a story was considered a set of rooms on one floor level with ceilings parallel to the floor. Half-stories were frequent in occurrence. They are those stories in which the ceilings or part of them slant because the floor level is built too close to the roof to allow the construction of a horizontal ceiling. The temperature of half-stories is prone to vary with extremes of the weather since there is little or no insulating layer of air between the ceiling and roof. Almost one-third of the houses were one and one-half stories high. This allows the occupants a bit more space theoretically, but it can scarcely be called comfortable space under certain conditions. Only 40 of the houses were two stories high.

Basements were distinguished from cellars as a space generally beneath the whole house, lined with either brick or concrete, and having windows opening to the out-of-doors. The latter characteristic is the most important factor. If they have some other means of refrigeration, most people prefer a basement to a cellar. Basements are more spacious, provide dry storage, and allow the installation of a central heating system. On the other hand, a basement, par-

ticularly if there is a furnace, provides a poor place for storage of fruit and vegetables and for food needing refrigeration. Basements, being better ventilated, hold a less constant temperature than cellars. About 37 per cent of the homes were without either cellar or basement; 51 per cent had cellars and 12 per cent had basements.

The correlation between basements or cellars and two full stories is interesting. Twelve, or one-half of the 24 houses with basements, were two storied, while only one-fourth of the 100 houses with cellars were two stories high. The number of two-storied houses with neither basement nor cellar is almost negligible. There was a much larger portion of one-storied houses with neither basement nor cellar than of houses with one and one-half or two stories.

The principal differences by tenure seem to lie in those houses with basements or cellars. Owned homes with basements were more than twice as frequent than nonowned homes. Of the houses with cellars 53 per cent were nonowned. The number of houses without either basement or cellar were about even in regard to tenure.

In a study of city housing the available space cannot be measured merely by the number of rooms available to the occupants because the size of the rooms varies to a high degree. This variance probably arises from the difference in building types and changing use of the buildings. The rooms in high-grade flats and single dwellings are generally larger than those in tenements. As the buildings grow older and unit rents drop, the number of units are increased and unit size decreased to keep the building income more constant. This factor is not present in rural housing, since there is little call for multiple-family dwellings. A house grows old with little change in its original structural plan. With the exception of makeshift shacks there is little difference in room size from house to house. As a consequence it did not seem requisite to measure the rooms. If the occupants had a sufficient number of rooms, they were probably fairly comfortable.

This comfort might vary with the occupant composition. For the purposes of this study the occupants were divided into three classes—families, households, and single persons. Usually a household will require more rooms than a family of equal size. Most houses had one or more rooms per person, which is adequate space. However,

over 16 per cent had less than one room per person. This is scarcely an alarming situation when compared with that of cities or certain portions of cities, but it is scarcely comfortable for that 16 per cent. About the same proportion of households had less than one room per person as had families. The situation may be considered slightly more severe for them, however, since, for the same degree of comfort, households need more room than do families. On the whole, it would seem that there is probably little suffering from overcrowding, although there are glaring exceptions. The following case stories illustrate these living arrangements:

Mrs. C. N. lives in the old shack built upon the farm which her husband homesteaded. She occupies it with her forty-year-old son and three daughters, ages 18, 14, and 12. The house, built on the top of a low hill, commands the view of a small valley, but the location is more imposing than the house, which consists of only two rooms. The extra room has been added behind the main part of the house. The rear room is almost completely filled by two double beds. The front room is larger but almost as crowded by the household articles and a folding double bed.

A few flowers planted along the tumble-down fence have either long been forgotten or allowed to live by sufferance alone. The meager soil of the yard, packed hard under sun and rain, supports no grass. The approach to the door of the home is hazardous and confusing since the short walk and porch have been patched, propped, repatched, and should be patched again. The screen door threatens to swing off its hinges if opened incautiously. In view of the fact that Mrs. C. N. has had only the meagerest materials with which to work, she has done certain things for the interior of her home. Although the inside of the walls was roughly finished and she could never acquire enough of the same kind of wall paper at one time to cover the whole, she patched it out with different kinds, and even covered part of them with tightly pasted newspapers.

Added to the poverty and crowded condition of the home are poor facilities. There is no toilet. However, the family is more fortunate than some since there are a shed and a barn. Water is obtained from a pump 100 feet down hill. There is no method of refrigeration, and artificial light is derived from kerosene lamps.

Mr. and Mrs. D. S., their two sons and two daughters, ranging in age from 14 to 2 years, live in a three-room house with Mr. S.'s brother. No one seemed to know when the house was built, but the front part was built first and the rest added. Were the lines of the house less severe, its earth color would fade into the barren soil of the hilltop on which it stands. The weather boarding, never violated by a paint brush, is cracked and warped simplifying the ingress of heat, cold, insects, and rodents. There are no yard demarkations. In the front the yard ends at the road. On the sides and in the rear the yard fades

into the worn out prairie. Much as nature had been allowed to take her course with this house, it still fails to seem appropriate to the country. Although the productivity of the land and the house have declined together, one can picture the former beauty and dignity of the land—it still retains vestiges of them—but age has failed to bring either dignity or romance to the house. Its only propriety rests on its similarity to its neighbors.

The neighborhood is called "Gin Ridge." The name has come to have a derogatory meaning. As a consequence "Gin Ridge" recedes, mirage-like, from any immediate locale in the region but may always be found on the next ridge. For years "Gin Ridge" has been as elusive as a will-o'-the-wisp, yet its existence is real and brutal. Years ago a man, now quite mythical in identity, was supposed to have stolen some gin from a house in the northeastern part of the township on the upper edge of the eroded area. He fled southward with his ill-gotten gains where he imbibed them in the security of timber and ravine. Since then the ridges have lost much of their timber and consequently much of their soil.

But to get back to the S.'s. The room downstairs in front is used as a living-room and bedroom. There is a single bed there. In the second floor room there are two double beds. Sleeping arrangements are cramped to say the least. The rear room is used as dining-room and kitchen. Furnishings are inadequate. The pieces that are in the home have withstood the buffets of age and hard use to a barely functional degree. Nevertheless, the home is usually neat and clean despite the presence of seven people in the three rooms. Where Mrs. S. finds the indomitable energy and initiative to create this condition is something of a mystery since she appears tired and old beyond her forty-five years. She can get little help from Mr. S. Most of his acquaintances would select him as the laziest man they know, but few of them realize that he has a rather serious cardiac condition. Formerly, during the days of state relief, Mr. S. would start out the thirteen miles to headquarters on foot. In bad weather he seldom got a lift, and sometimes he arrived in town almost ill from exhaustion.

The home of the W.'s is located on a site that might well be coveted by a chewing gum king. From the front the home commands ridge after ridge to the southward, but details of the site and home are less imposing. At the road the fence, conveniently crushed down a bit, must be surmounted, then through a patch of weeds almost pathless to the next fence, and under it. One may evade the second fence by making a long circle about the end, but a weedless spot near the tree indicates that most comers pass under. The remaining climb is short before one is faced with the choice of risking the rickety porch with its comparatively whole-bodied door or the temperamental front screen that requires skillful handling to prevent complete disintegration from its hinges.

Mr. and Mrs. W., ages 33 and 24, respectively, have a daughter and three sons, ages 10, 7, 5, and 2. Their house has four rooms in the summer—two bedrooms, a kitchen, and living-room. The plaster is off most of the wall and ceiling

space of the kitchen making it impractical for winter use; so they have only one bedroom in the winter. Sleeping accommodations consist of two double beds.

Facilities are poor. They obtain their water from the school, a quarter of a mile away. Screening is adequate at only a part of the outside openings. Kerosene lamps furnish light. There is no means of refrigeration.

Since 169 of the occupied houses were heated by stoves in the winter, adequate room space becomes a different problem in cold weather. A stove will heat only one average-sized room comfortably. Therefore, the number of rooms available for daytime activities in the winter is limited by the number of stoves available. Of course this does not limit the sleeping space since bedrooms are generally used even if uncomfortably cold at times.

Only 11 of the homes were equipped with central heat. The 18 single persons were comfortably fixed, only 5 of them having to rely on but one stove for heat. Households and families were slightly less fortunate because they were larger and most of them had only two stoves for heating, one of which might be a cookstove. Most households and families must crowd into two rooms for their daytime activities in the winter. This results in a considerably higher proportion of overcrowding for daytime activities than is indicated above.

The number of outside windows and doors was in direct proportion to the number of rooms. They varied from one outside door and no windows in a one-room shack to thirty-one outside doors and windows in a nine-room house. Most houses were provided with adequate means of light and ventilation, and there was the added advantage of little or no building crowding in the township. Thus, the light and air had free access to an adequate number of inlets.

Simple house space cannot present a true picture unless use of the rooms is considered. Perhaps the place a family or household feels the pinch of overcrowding most acutely is in their sleeping arrangements. As a consequence, an attempt was made to evaluate the best sleeping arrangements the occupants of the house could achieve. To do this, arbitrary standards were set and three groups established—good, satisfactory, and unsatisfactory, called Classes A, B, and C, respectively, for convenience. Such factors as number, sex,

age, and relationship of persons occupying the same rooms and beds were considered. Each family or household was measured according to these standards in view of their sleeping space and available bed space.

About 78 per cent of the cases were Class A. In other words, slightly over three-fourths of the families and households were capable of making sleeping arrangements quite conducive to health and social standards. About 8 per cent were Class B and about 14 per cent Class C. Although the degree of severity in this last group is hidden by such rough grouping, the fact that so large a proportion of the whole have undesirable arrangements is notable.

The proportion of families and households in each class is interesting. In Class A the proportion is about equal, but in Class B there are proportionately almost three times as many households as families. In Class C the proportion is again about equal. This may indicate that households need a little more leeway to make good arrangements than do families.

The figures on tenure are so irregular that it seems to be a factor of little significance. In general, there are more nonowners in each class for families and more owners in each class for households. However, owners and nonowners are more nearly equal in Class A than in any other group.

It is interesting to note that in Class A the cases tend to concentrate in those levels with the smaller groups of occupants. In Class B they tend to be heavier in the larger occupant groups. In Class C there is considerable scatter throughout all size groups. This may indicate that the larger families and households are handicapped in making sleeping arrangements by lack of equipment and limitations in house size. Statistics fail to show the true condition of these families, which is better pictured by the following case stories:

Mr. and Mrs. F., both aged 39; a son, 16; two daughters, 14 and 11; a son, 8; and two daughters, 6 and 2 years old occupy a two-room house. The room upstairs has two double beds. The downstairs, used as a combination kitchen, dining-room, living-room and bedroom, has a single bed which is sometimes moved upstairs when no one is sick and needs to sleep alone or near the fire.

The C. family consisting of Mr. C., age 70; Mrs. C., age 50; three daughters, ages 19, 16, and 14; and a son, age 10, occupy a four-room house. The 160-acre farm, against which there is a mortgage, is located in the southwest corner of the

township about as far as possible from a shopping center. They use their team of mules to cultivate 110 acres and to draw the farm wagon in which they place the kitchen chairs for seats when they do want to go to town. Mr. C. launched into a voluble description of economic conditions and his own farming activities, throwing in for good measure a remark about a recent government housing survey that was supposed to create a "thicker standard of living." And he would have to give "the devil his due"; the government certainly had helped him with his mortgage. He could pay off part of it this year. Perhaps he could clean it up entirely; then they could add another room to the house. (Mr. C. is reported to have had eight children at home once upon a time.) At present they have a living-room, kitchen, and two bedrooms. They have two double beds in one room; the other is unfurnished. The extra girls sleep on the floor. His reply was casual. The C.'s waved a gay farewell. A few days later they were seen perched precariously on the chairs in their wagon. Their greeting was still gay.

Mr. F. was 63, his wife 67. They received \$16 monthly from the local Old Age Assistance Bureau. The payments had lately been irregular, and Mrs. F. met the investigator with a smile thinking she had come out from the office in response to her card. She was just as cordial, however, after her mistake had been corrected. She and Mr. F. pay \$2 monthly for their little shack and plot of ground. The principal room was large and airy—its only virtue. This dining-living-bedroom was filled with odds and ends of furniture including two single beds. The walls were unfinished, and there was no semblance of organization. The other room, used as a kitchen and bedroom, contained two single beds. Flies were bad in both rooms. Had the F. family thrown away about three-fourths of their furniture, confined cooking to one room, sleeping to the other, they might have been more comfortable.

Sometimes it is harder for a household to achieve satisfactory arrangements than for a family. The A. household had bed space for four people, and there were six in the household. One of them was Mrs. A.'s 77-year-old mother who had lived alone for years until her home had burned a few months before. She would have been much more comfortable sleeping by herself as she was accustomed to doing. The lack of bed space was complicated by crowded rooms. The combination living-room, bedroom, and dining-room, containing the only double bed, was about $12 \times 8 \times 6$ feet in size. The bedroom containing two single beds was even smaller. A summer kitchen recently built near the rear of the house tended to ease the congestion a little.

III

The factors covered by the term "facilities" are those which, while not a part of the house itself, tend to make it a more pleasant and convenient place in which to live—lights, screens, source of water,

telephone, etc. The houses in this township fell lower in regard to facilities than for any other group of factors.

Screened porches were one of the facilities studied. City dwellers cannot fully appreciate the value of a screened porch to persons living on a farm. It serves a more practical end than providing a haven from mosquitoes in the evenings. It provides a reasonably cool place free from insects for carrying on certain daytime activities, such as handling dairy products and various household activities which the farm woman may wish to undertake in some other place than her usually already crowded kitchen. Furthermore, the screened porch together with a door screen serve as a double barrier against flies. Of the 196 houses recorded 68, or about 35 per cent, were provided with screened porches in a satisfactory condition. There were 120 houses, or about 61 per cent, without a screened porch. Seven homes had porches with screening so poor as to be of no benefit. Of these, four were occupied by nonowners and three were unoccupied. One case was not reported for screened porches.

Adequate screening at windows and doors is still more important to the occupants of farmhouses than are screened porches. On certain days windows and doors must be opened to allow ventilation. Unless protected by screening they offer an easy entrance to the hordes of flies ever prevalent about a farm. In view of the usual proximity of barnyards and outside toilets to the farmhouse these insects are scarcely desirable guests. The homes were studied for the quality of the screening at windows and outside doors. Fifty-two of the homes had adequate screening at all windows and outside doors. One hundred and thirteen had adequate screening at a sufficient portion of the windows and doors to allow comfortable summer-time ventilation. Nineteen homes had screening in such poor condition that it failed to serve its purpose, and ten had no screens. Two were unreported. Of these with inadequate or no screening, twelve were occupied by nonowners; eleven were unoccupied; and the tenure of one was unrecorded. Only five of the homes with inadequate screening were occupied by owners.

Outside toilets are still predominant throughout most rural sections and are particularly frequent in this township. Their presence gives rise to a variety of problems. In the first place, it is difficult

to keep them sanitary. Although no statistical study was made of conditions here, it is a safe generalization that satisfactorily hygienic outside toilets were the exception rather than the rule. Their inconvenience gives rise to the disagreeable and unsanitary habit of using inside receptacles. There are added difficulties in overseeing the establishment of satisfactory toilet habits in children. If outside toilets are so unsatisfactory, why were they so numerous? The absence of running water and adequate plumbing, as explained later, partly accounts for the lack of inside toilets. There were 171 outside toilets and 6 inside toilets. Of the outside ones 10 had concrete vaults. The rest were unimproved. Of the inside toilets all could be flushed except one in an unoccupied house without plumbing. The toilet was consequently rendered nonfunctional. All functional inside toilets occurred in houses occupied by the owners. There were 17 cases (almost 9 per cent) in which the property was devoid of stationary toilet facilities of any type.

The accessibility of a pure water supply contributes to both health and comfort. Until recently most people kept reasonably healthy and clean while using water from wells and cisterns. Yet, were people given a choice, they would generally prefer to live in a house with running water. Why? Most people would consider convenience first. Turning on a faucet is easier than going out to a pump, exercising strenuously, then carrying water in by the bucketful. Buckets clutter a room, while water on tap lightens an endless number of household tasks. Running water and the possibility of a bathtub facilitate bathing. A satisfactory inside toilet is improbable without running water. Without attention to location, wells will probably be unhygienic. A well should be located far enough from the toilet or barnyard that the water fed into it has been filtered of impurities. Ideally it should be on ground higher than sources of contamination. The water should either be tested periodically or be chemically treated to safeguard against unexpected infection. Too often well platforms are allowed to fall into a state of repair that permits ingress for external objects. Well water has become unusable because a rat or two have dropped into the cavity and drowned. Of course these same precautionary measures must be taken in rural homes with running water since the source will be an individual well.

Housewives like cistern water for laundry. Since it is "soft," or free from the chemicals dissolved in well water from the soil, soap responds better in it. However, cisterns are notoriously unreliable since they depend on rainfall for their water and are never safe as sources of drinking water.

Of the homes in this township only six, or about 3 per cent, were equipped with running water. All these homes were occupied by the owners. Running water in a rural area presupposes a source of power, usually electricity, as well as a plumbing system. As will be noted later the number of homes having electricity in this township is almost as low as those with running water.

One hundred and eighty-six, or about 95 per cent, of the homes were recorded as having access to hand-pump wells only as a source drinking water. Of these, fourteen were in the house or in a sheltered connecting space. The remainder, 172, were out-of-doors at varying distances from the house. Ninety-nine of the homes were equipped with cisterns.

In view of the predominance of wells as a source of drinking water it is interesting to note the varying distances of the wells from the homes. The distance was estimated in each case; therefore, the results must be regarded as merely an approximate picture. In 107 of the cases the well was 25 feet or less from the house. While not everyone in the world is eager to carry water that far, it *is* possible. Farther than that is contraindicative to ease in attaining cleanliness. It is disheartening to note that 25 householders were forced to go over 75 feet for their water.

A more graphic picture of the situation may be attained by noting some of the cases individually.

Mr. and Mrs. K. must go about 150 feet downhill to get their water, but going down is easier than carrying the full buckets back up to the same house. Besides for her husband Mrs. K. must launder clothes for her three boys, 9, 7, and 2.

The well from which the M.'s obtain their water is about 200 feet from the house, but there is no hill, only a gentle slope down to the fence where the well was dug. The fence separates the lawn from the barnyard.

The S.'s have been keeping house only a little over a year; so perhaps they have not yet found it monotonous to trudge the hundred yards to the well out behind the barn. The well is convenient for watering the stock.

Blind Mr. O. and his wife have no well on their own property but they have an eighteen-year-old son, who can carry water from the pump 150 feet away in the school yard.

"Old Mrs. P." is sixty-six but fortunately still possesses a hardy, active body, for she lives by herself and must care for all her own needs. She can't drink the water from her cistern but is allowed to use the well at the school. The school is half a mile away, and she has no means of transportation.

Mr. and Mrs. R. are renting farmers. They have two sons, ages 14 and 2, and two daughters, ages 13 and 9. There is a cistern equipped with a pump just off the back porch. This is fortunate since the well is over 700 feet away down a steep hill. Sometimes they haul the water to the house by horse and wagon; sometimes they carry it.

Mr. and Mrs. Q. and their four children ranging in age from fourteen to four have lived in their present home for four years. They have been in the habit of hauling water from the school, which is one and three-quarters miles distant. The habit is somewhat inconvenient since the hilly clay road frequently becomes impassable, gasoline is expensive, and their old car sometimes breaks down unexpectedly. They are now digging a well in their yard. Unfortunately, the vein of water Mr. Q. hopes to strike is about one hundred feet from the house.

Mr. and Mrs. R. are 66 and 67 years old respectively. Their well is about 100 feet from the back door of their shack. For younger, stronger people this is an inconvenient but not an impossible distance; but both of these people, as so many others who have lived under similar conditions, look older than their years warrant. Mrs. R. seems almost feeble. Yet she must attempt to keep bare wooden floors clean. Since there are no walks to lessen the amount of dirt carried in on shoes (or even on Mrs. R.'s bare feet), only frequent scrubblings would keep the floor in a desirable state of cleanliness. Mrs. R. must attempt to do her laundry in movable tubs and an old hand power washer. She was in the midst of the task at the time of the interview. The tubs contained a minimal amount of water.

Mrs. L. N. has never enjoyed the benefits of a well or cistern near or far on her own property, and her and her children's bodies, their clothes, and her house are vivid examples of the result. She has always obtained water about 400 feet away from the well of a neighbor. This is not only inconvenient but sometimes produces a downright shortage. During dry seasons the water in some of the wells becomes alarmingly low and occasionally disappears altogether. During such periods Mrs. L. N.'s neighbor naturally objects to the extra drain on her own water supply.

City dwellers accustomed to pouring waste water down a drain cannot quite realize what it means to be without such a drain. Of the

household facilities costing comparatively little, most rural women would choose a sink with a drain. It is easier as well as more pleasant in end result to pour dish water, etc., down a drain than to throw it out the back door. Of the houses recorded 71 boasted a sink or lavatory with a drain. Of these 39 appeared in houses occupied by the owners; 28 in houses occupied by nonowners; and 4 in unoccupied houses. Five of the owners had homes with both a sink and a lavatory. Stationary bathtubs with drains were almost too much to hope for. Eight were discovered. Some of these had to be filled by hand, but even so they offered certain advantages over a foottub or basin.

Most farmers and rural dwellers go to bed rather early, partly because the nature of their occupation requires an early hour of rising and partly because of the physical exertion much of their labor demands. But after seeing the results of the study in this township one begins to think that poor artificial lighting is perhaps a contributing factor.

About 166 of the homes recorded for lighting facilities were furnished with lamps of some variety. Of these, 120 had only kerosene lamps. Next to a candle, a kerosene lamp furnishes the poorest light of any type now in use. Besides giving off poor light, lamps must be carried from room to room—a more precarious method than flicking a switch. Lamps require almost endless cleaning. Kerosene emits a disagreeable odor. Forty-six of the homes had one or more improved lamps of some type. These include lamps burning gasoline and having an improved wick and lights having an incandescent wick with the fuel under pressure. There is a large variety. All of them give a better light than ordinary kerosene lamps. Also they are slightly more expensive to buy and operate. Among those having such lamps there was a slight predominance among nonowners.

Ten homes had electric lights. All these homes operated their own electric plant. There was no power line feeding local wires in the township. A home-operated power plant is generally conceded to be expensive and temperamental. Yet electricity will furnish power for an infinite number of farm as well as household tasks in addition to giving light. It will run pumps and dairy equipment and furnish the heat and light desirable in the raising of poultry. Its possibilities for lightening housework are well known.

At the time the study was made the initial organization for the institution of a Rural Electrification Administration project was under way in the township. Conditions may gradually improve, but a fairly thorough knowledge of the economic condition of the township suggests that the majority of the people now living there will never enjoy the advantages of electricity in their present homes.

The number of stoves and type of heating have already been studied in connection with the amount of room space available for daily activities in the winter. At this point it remains to glance at the type of fuel available for cooking. A range burning coal or wood is probably the most efficient means of cooking in farmhouses, particularly in view of the fact that farm women generally do a considerable amount of baking. However, a stove burning a liquid or gaseous fuel is much more convenient, especially in the summer. Most farm women like to have both a range and the second type of stove. Of the occupied houses 124, or about 70 per cent, had kerosene cookstoves; 3 had gasoline; and 1 had a stove burning artificial gas. This is a fairly high proportion of homes with a convenient facility in comparison to some of the foregoing ones. However, one is inclined to have an ounce of pity for that 29 per cent of the housekeepers who must suffer over a hot wood or coal fire throughout the summer.

A satisfactory means of refrigeration is sometimes difficult to obtain in a rural district. No iceman makes a daily delivery at the door. If ice is used, the householder must go after it himself—sometimes to a considerable distance. Yet refrigeration is important in a region where poultry and dairy products are handled daily; so other methods than ice refrigeration are used. Usually they are somewhat less effective and immediately convenient than ice, but they are cheaper. The largest portion of people used their cellars for keeping food fresh. Although some people used basements as a means of refrigeration, their use was considered unsatisfactory in this study. There were seven cases utilizing the well to keep foods fresh. This means is fairly effective. It usually involves the use of a contrivance by which the food is raised and lowered into the cavity. Twenty-one householders used a cave. A cave is built on the same plan as a cellar but is located in the yard instead of under the house.

Thirty-seven households used ice. Of these, considerably more than half were owners. It is noteworthy that 42 houses were without satisfactory means of refrigeration. This is less than one-fourth of the cases and is probably not cause for alarm, yet spoiled food may cause sickness.

To the farm woman laundry is only another task—not the main housekeeping event of the week. In view of the large number of cases having inconvenient water facilities it would seem that laundry must sometimes become a burdensome task in this area. This picture is incomplete, however, until the laundry facilities are noted. Gasoline and electric machines may be considered satisfactory means of washing clothes. Gasoline machines are noisy and malodorous but they lighten the work. Seventy-eight cases had such equipment. Over half of the cases had only tubs or hand-power machines. Clothes can be washed clean in either of these, but the amount of labor necessary to achieve the same result is infinitely greater than with a power machine.

Telephones were more frequent in the township than most household conveniences. However, they are not the neat little black instruments that will put the user in touch with the other end of the world in a few moments. Most of the telephones were cumbersome wooden affairs attached to the wall. "Central" was called by taking down the receiver and turning an attached crank. Since the line consists of a more or less large group of subscribers who are connected to any call passing over the line, an incoming call is rung by a signal system. Any number of subscribers beside the party in question may listen to the conversation. It is a moot question as to whether this is an advantage or disadvantage, certainly it furnishes a means of fairly harmless recreation. Country lines are often inefficient. Even under propitious weather conditions it is often difficult to hear. In some weather, conditions sometimes become so bad that the conversation must be relayed by "central," who can generally hear. Even so, under the more or less isolated conditions of country life a country telephone is better than no telephone. Of the 106 telephones in the occupied homes in the township, all were on a country line. The proportion was considerably in favor of homes occupied by the owners.

The causative factors in the low level of house facilities in this township are somewhat hard to determine. This lack is not entirely a direct result of the poverty of the soil, since many of the houses without important facilities stand near homes that are comparatively well equipped. The possible factors—inbreeding, length of residence, low intellectual status, poor physical condition, and low educational level, as well as poverty—do not all have the same value and were inadequately studied to warrant discussion at this point.

IV

The following generalization may be made with regard to housing conditions in this township. Taken as a whole, house space is ample during the warm months. There are slightly more than 1.5 rooms per person during those months in which artificial heat is unnecessary. The predominance of heating by stoves together with the limited number of stoves per family gives rise to some crowding for daytime activities during the periods when heat is necessary. During such periods there is somewhat less than 0.5 room per person in most cases. This is scarcely severe crowding but is less room than might be desired. In general, sleeping arrangements are good. This is to be expected, since there is ample house space. Beds are easier to provide than rooms. Of course, in winter it is not entirely pleasant to go to bed in a room so chilly one can see one's breath, but it is probably more healthful than sleeping in an overcrowded room. Facilities are very poor. The total absence of some and the poor type of others not only result in extreme inconvenience to most householders but result in downright health hazards to some. All but 3 of 180 occupied homes lacked some or many of the facilities with which most town and city homes are equipped.

Specifically, there are some other inadequacies in the housing conditions. There are instances of bad overcrowding. Then there is a certain amount of isolation, but this is a concomitant factor in rural living despite housing conditions. Automobiles, better roads, telephones, improved mail delivery, and the radio tend to decrease this isolation. However, as noted before, many of the roads tend to become impassable in the township during extended periods of bad weather. Well over half the people in the township live on such

dirt roads. Over 12 per cent have no type of transportation at any season. Over one-third of the population are without telephones, and the other two-thirds are dependent on the vagaries of the rural-party line. Mail delivery is as good in this township as in any comparable region. The rural mail carrier gets through if anyone can. No count was made of radios, but most of those who have them must depend on batteries for their power.

Did the township reveal any rural housing advantages beside those resultant of generally adequate house space? Yes, it did. These advantages rest mainly on two factors—all the homes are single dwellings and circumstances have contributed to the development of jacks-of-all-trades in the region. Given a bit of initiative, or perhaps desire for comfort, a somewhat more generous portion of ingenuity, and a minimum of materials, some of the householders have accomplished more or less functional miracles in their homes. You can't build a fruit cellar under an apartment house, but you can under a tiny bungalow. At least, "John Frazer" did. Mr. and Mrs. Frazer bought their house in 1928. It had a good roof but little else. They raised it and put a concrete foundation under it. Then they covered the outside of it with composition shingles, put in new window casings, and finished the corners of the house with wooden strips. The outside is scarcely beautiful, but it is neat and presents a stout front to the weather. In 1935 Mrs. Frazer repapered the rooms and painted the woodwork. A shallow ditch leading under the house through a hole in the foundation and closed with an old door makes a repository for fruit. There is little storage space in the two rooms of the house, and fruit and vegetables never freeze when stored under it. With considerable ingenuity Mr. Frazer built an electric plant out of an old Model T Ford generator and a homemade windmill. During windless weather he can hook the generator to a battery once used in a Model A Ford and still have electricity. Although the plant leaves some things to be desired it gives, light, runs the radio, and even furnishes power for their electric iron. Utility alone is not enough. A home must furnish a means for self-expression. So Mrs. Frazer built a fish pond. At the time of the interview it was fishless. Mrs. Frazer had found its bricks and stones difficult to keep free

of moss and algae; so she had emptied it and refinished the inside with concrete. To enhance its interest she had encircled it with unlovely but interesting stones and fossils collected from the near-by hills. It was fun, and she enjoyed her own mystification as to how the stones were formed.

Sadly enough, however, the study cannot end on a hopeful note. Were it possible by some external means to provide all the people in Central Township with comfortable homes, the plan would not be permanent, for the land, the only source of income, is not rich enough to afford the proper upkeep of the homes.

ILLINOIS STATE DEPARTMENT
OF PUBLIC WELFARE

RELATION OF RELIEF TO INCREASE OF JUVENILE COURT CASES

ELLERY F. REED

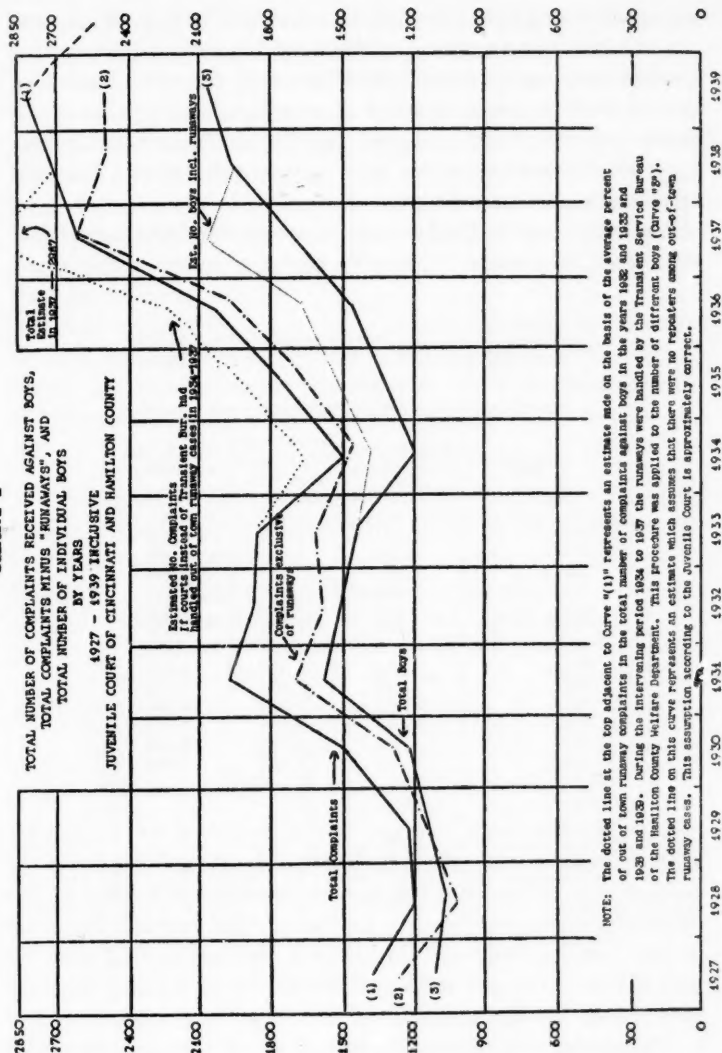
AN INCREASE of approximately 100 per cent in juvenile delinquency as measured by juvenile court cases took place in Cincinnati and Hamilton County during the period 1927-40, inclusive. Since there has been apparent a great increase in juvenile delinquency generally throughout the country during this period, a study of causal factors in Hamilton County may be significant for other communities.

Careful and continuous gathering and recording of statistics of some 120 social agencies in Cincinnati and Hamilton County since 1928 by the Research Department of the Community Chest in collaboration with the United States Children's Bureau has made possible studies of local trends in different but related fields of social work and social problems. Analysis of these data, together with a close general knowledge of the social-work situation in the community throughout this period, has pointed to certain factors as probable or hypothetical causes of the increase in juvenile court cases.

Chart I and Table 1 show (1) the total number of complaints against boys in each year, (2) the number of complaints *minus* "runaways,"¹ and (3) the number of different boys each year referred to the Juvenile Court of Cincinnati and Hamilton County. The long-time upward trend of complaints and of different boys handled by the court is evident. The chart, however, shows that the great increases took place in two brief periods: first, 1930 and 1931; and

¹ It was felt desirable to study the trends of juvenile court cases in light of the fact that during the years 1934-37, inclusive, the out-of-town "runaway" cases were handled by the Transient Service Bureau of the County Welfare Department. The number of such cases handled by the department during this period is not available, and, consequently, estimates are presented on Chart I represented by the dotted line adjacent to curve 1, i.e., "Complaints"; and to curve 3, i.e., the "Number of Different Boys." These dotted lines indicate approximately what the total number of complaints and of different boys might have been if the court itself had handled the runaway cases during the period 1934-37, inclusive. Curve 2 shows the number of complaints *minus* runaway cases throughout the entire period 1927-39, inclusive.

CHART I



second, 1936 and 1937. In 1930 the increase in boys over 1927 was 117, and in the year 1931 an additional 356 boys were added, making a total increase in 1931 over 1927 of 473, or 42 per cent. There was, then, a gradual downward trend in complaints and number of different boys until 1935. The year 1935 showed some increase over 1934, but the numbers as seen both in curve 1 and curve 3 (Chart I) remained below those of 1931.

A new high was reached in 1936, when the number of complaints was higher than in 1931. It was the year 1937, however, that repre-

TABLE 1
COMPLAINTS AGAINST BOYS REFERRED TO JUVENILE
COURT OF CINCINNATI AND HAMILTON COUNTY
BY YEARS, 1927-39

Year	Total Number of Complaints against Boys	Total Number of Complaints minus "run- aways"	Total Number of Different Boys
1927.....	1,392	1,279	1,130
1928.....	1,206	1,043	1,086
1929.....	1,355	1,170	1,160
1930.....	1,493	1,298	1,247
1931.....	1,994	1,665	1,603
1932.....	1,886	1,588	1,529
1933.....	1,878	1,614	1,477
1934.....	1,519	1,461	1,236
1935.....	1,758	1,679	1,354
1936.....	2,037	1,953	1,484
1937.....	2,608	2,605	1,724
1938.....	2,709	2,490	1,966
1939.....	2,814	2,465	2,063

sented the phenomenal increase. In this year there was an increase of 571 complaints over the preceding year (1936) and 614 above the level of 1931. If the estimated number of runaways handled by the Welfare Department in 1937 are added, the increase was even greater, making the total number of complaints in that year the greatest on record and the estimated number of different boys approximately as high as 1939.

The number of complaints in 1939, however, remained over twice as high as in 1927, and the number of different boys showed nearly as great an increase; i.e., from 1,130 in 1927 to 2,063 in 1939. The first seven months of 1940 showed a small decrease in the average

number of complaints per month, as compared with the same period in 1939; i.e., an average of 216 as compared with 234.

This great increase in juvenile delinquency as measured by juvenile court cases challenges attention and calls for analysis of possible causes. Statistics alone will not give an answer to the question of causation. Indeed, it is necessary to utilize a general knowledge of local changes and developments in the economic and welfare situation during the last thirteen years to establish even a reasonable hypothesis as to causal factors accounting for the great increase in juvenile court cases.

Before considering some of the factors that are suggested as causes for this apparent increase in delinquency, it will be well to discuss briefly, and so to eliminate, some that do not in this instance seem to have been causes.

BOY POPULATION OF JUVENILE COURT AGE

The number of delinquents has not been materially affected by change in the total population of juvenile court age, as will be seen by the figures in Table 2.

TABLE 2
NUMBER OF BOYS SEVEN TO SEVENTEEN YEARS OF AGE
INCLUSIVE, CINCINNATI SCHOOL DISTRICT, 1930-39

Year	No. of Boys	Year	No. of Boys
1930.....	41,047	1935.....	40,903
1931.....	39,997	1936.....	41,276
1932.....	40,600	1937.....	41,686
1933.....	40,514	1938.....	40,661
1934.....	40,530	1939.....	39,766

It will be seen from these figures that the delinquency rate (the number of complaints per thousand of the boy population seven to seventeen years of age) would present practically the same picture as the total number of complaints as presented on Chart I.

BASIN POPULATION

The movement of population in the congested and deteriorated Basin Area of the city, where delinquency is most prevalent, is of interest in this connection. According to the census of the Cincinnati Housing Bureau the population of the Basin Area (Census Tracts 1-17, inclusive, plus Tract 91) was 121,689 in 1931 as compared

with 125,558 in 1930.² Thus the first great increase in juvenile court cases, which occurred in 1931, took place in spite of a decrease of population in this area. The population of the Basin increased to 128,891 in 1935.³ According to the census by the Cincinnati Housing Bureau for 1938, the Basin population was 128,119.

The City Housing Bureau in this latter year reported an increasing amount of overcrowding in the Basin. There were at the end of 1938 approximately 2,249 fewer apartments in this area than there were in 1933, while at the same time there had been an increase of several thousand in population. Thirteen thousand and thirteen apartments out of a total of 40,816 were rated as overcrowded (more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ persons per room). This increase of population and overcrowding probably contributed to the great increase of delinquency in 1936 and 1937, but it should be noted that the almost equally great increase of delinquency in 1931 took place in spite of a decrease in population of the Basin Area at that time.

NEGRO POPULATION

A question may be raised as to the effect of the increase of Negro population on delinquency. The Negro delinquency rates are higher than the white rates, but there is no evidence that this is true where Negro families have equally good neighborhood and economic conditions. The Negro population of the Basin increased from 34,274 in 1930 to 45,372 in 1938. It is, therefore, significant that the delinquency rates for the Basin Area, according to juvenile court records, have not increased as fast in recent years as the rates for some other areas of the community where the Negro population was a less prominent factor. There was, furthermore, not a large increase in the total number of Negro children five to seventeen years of age in the city as a whole during the depression period. The school census in 1931 showed 12,133 such children as compared with 14,303 in 1938. The conclusion seems evident that the increase in juvenile court cases in Cincinnati cannot be attributed to the increase in Negro population.

POLICE ACTIVITIES

Another factor which has been suggested as possibly affecting the increase in juvenile court cases is that of police policy and practice.

² The U.S. Census in 1930. ³ Census by the Regional Bureau of Economic Security.

It is evident that increased diligence in arresting juvenile offenders would tend to increase the number of juvenile court cases. If such increased police activity was evident throughout the two periods of great increase in juvenile court cases, viz., 1930 and 1931, and 1936 and 1937, this factor might account in no small measure for the rise in the delinquency curve.

Did the number of police on the police force increase and so affect an increase in the arrest of juvenile offenders? On December 31, 1931, the number of police was less than in the preceding year, viz., 650 as compared with 662. Thus the first great increase in juvenile delinquency took place at a time when there was some decrease in the total number of police. The great increase in delinquency in 1936 and 1937 was accompanied by increase in police strength. The total average number of police in 1936 was 632 and in 1937, 696. The number on duty in the districts in 1936 averaged 382 and in 1937, 406. Fluctuation in the number of police seems not to have been a determining factor, since the number of police decreased in the first and increased in the second period of great increase of juvenile court cases.

Increasing emphasis has been placed on "prevention of delinquency" by the police in Cincinnati. The police force has adopted a policy of first warning and advising boys rather than arresting them and turning them over at once to the juvenile court, except in cases where the offense is quite serious, or has been often repeated. Sometimes the police also report the delinquency to the boys' parents, and sometimes through the City Welfare Department the boys are referred to the social agencies. In all cases where the police follow this general policy they report the name of the boy and the nature of his delinquency to the Juvenile Registry maintained by the City Welfare Department.

The complete figures on the number of boys warned by the police are not available prior to 1939, but for that year the police reported 748. Had it not been for such activity and policy on the part of the police, a larger number of boys might have been arrested and reported to the juvenile court. It is felt by the police and those in charge of the Juvenile Registry that these preventive activities have been socially constructive and have tended to avoid in many cases the development of more serious delinquency and crime. This de-

linquency-prevention work by the police first received emphasis in 1934 under Safety Commissioner Fred Hoehler⁴ and has continued since that time with increasing emphasis, particularly during the last two years.

The conclusion would seem to be that the long-time upward trend in juvenile court cases is not to be attributed to police activity or policies, although such may possibly account for some short-time fluctuations. The question may in fact fairly be raised whether the preventive efforts of the police and the Juvenile Registry were not a factor in the moderate decline of juvenile court cases in 1938, 1939, and 1940 as compared with the estimated total in 1937.

LEISURE TIME AND GROUP WORK

It is generally assumed that the work of leisure-time and group-work agencies is important in the prevention of delinquency. What

TABLE 3
PUBLIC RECREATION FACILITIES IN CINCINNATI, 1927-39

	1927	1932	1939
Playgrounds.....	24	31	49
Playfields.....	2	2	7
Tennis courts.....	37	50	170
Ball diamonds.....	24	64	159
Golf courses.....	1	1	2

were the trends in activities of such agencies from 1927 to 1939? Was the great increase in juvenile court cases accompanied by a decline in such work in the community? Comparable statistics of group work as represented in a number of private agencies of this type are not available over the entire period of 1927-39, but there is reason to believe that the work of these agencies was well maintained. Statistics of the Boy Scouts show an increase of members registered on the first of the month from an average of 2,317 in 1927 to 4,520 in 1939. Comparable figures for the Girl Scouts were 972 and 3,164.

There was a great increase in public leisure-time activities pro-

⁴ Now director of the American Public Welfare Association.

vided by the Recreation Commission as shown by Table 3. The Recreation Commission reported in 1938 an attendance of 2,167,424 white and 620,955 Negro adults and children at public swimming pools, playgrounds, and playstreets.

It is evident from these data that there was a great increase in leisure-time and group-work activities in public and at least in some private agencies. The increase in juvenile court cases therefore took place in spite of this increase and not because of a decline in leisure-time and group-work activities. This is no indication that such work was not valuable or that it did not tend to prevent delinquency. It is evident that other forces greater in effect were operating which caused an increase in delinquency in spite of the efforts of group-work agencies. However, the number of juvenile court cases would doubtless have shown a still greater increase if it had not been for the work of these agencies.

LOCAL SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENTS

In considering possible explanations for the increase in juvenile court cases, it has been pointed out that Glenview and Hillcrest schools (local institutions for delinquent children), with populations of approximately 88 boys and 40 girls, respectively, closed on December 31, 1936. In 1937 there was an increase of 571 complaints to the juvenile court over the preceding year. However, the reopening of Glenview (the school for boys) in December, 1938, was also followed by an increase rather than a decrease in the number of boys reported to the juvenile court in 1939. Furthermore, Glenview and Hillcrest were both operating in 1931 when the first great rise in juvenile court cases occurred. It is apparent that these schools, although undoubtedly performing a valuable service, have not been a controlling factor in respect to juvenile court cases.

GENERAL ECONOMIC AND RELIEF CONDITIONS

Study of the trend of juvenile court cases since 1927 in relation to general economic trends and the changing relief situation strongly suggests that there may here be found some more important causative factors. Juvenile court cases were on the decline in the prosperous years 1927-29, inclusive. The first great increase of juvenile

court cases, which took place in 1930 and 1931, was accompanied by extreme conditions of unemployment, underemployment, destitution, and inadequate relief. Economic and employment indexes at that time were sinking rapidly toward the lowest depths of the depression. General relief was still being administered chiefly by private agencies with the help of some local public funds which were more and more inadequate to meet the need. Concurrently the number of juvenile court cases in 1931 was 47 per cent greater than in 1929.

The delinquency-curve as expressed in juvenile court cases showed a downward trend from 1932 to 1935, with 1934 as the low point in this period. These years encompassed the depths of the depression, but, on the other hand, relief provisions were greatly increased. In 1932 and 1933 there were some state appropriations for relief and also some loans from the federal Reconstruction Finance Corporation. These, supplemented by local public and private funds, helped greatly to expand both work and direct relief, the latter still being administered by the private agencies.

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration began in July, 1933, and marked the entry of the federal government into the relief field. F.E.R.A. continued until the latter part of 1935, when it was replaced by the W.P.A. The Hamilton County Welfare Department was established in June, 1933, as the local F.E.R.A. agency and continued after 1935 without federal funds but with state and county support until May 31, 1937. Nineteen hundred and thirty-four was the only full year of operation of the F.E.R.A. program, as federal funds were being rapidly withdrawn in the last half of 1935. It was in 1934 that the delinquency-curves reached the lowest point since 1930. The F.E.R.A. included a work program of several thousand cases but was for the most part a direct-relief program.

The F.E.R.A., in the judgment of many students of the relief problem, came more nearly giving an adequate coverage of general relief needs not only in this community but throughout the country than did any other program during the depression. The Hamilton County Welfare Department was outstanding as a well-administered agency.

The W.P.A. failed from the first to supply work to all the employables as it was designed to do. It is estimated that not more than

two-thirds of those eligible in the country as a whole have at any time been employed by W.P.A. This left a heavier burden of direct relief after 1935 than the state and local community succeeded in meeting adequately. Not only Cincinnati and Hamilton County, but, with few exceptions, industrial communities throughout the country have, during the last five years, allowed serious want and suffering to afflict thousands of families. More money has been spent because of W.P.A. and expanding Old Age Assistance, but the total number of families helped in Hamilton County have been fewer than in 1935 and direct-relief allowances less adequate relative to need.

There are no adequate statistical measures of relief need. Case loads are not always a good measure because they reflect too often inadequate public funds and arbitrary restrictions on intake.⁵ The longer general unemployment continues the greater the proportion of the unemployed, the disabled, and the aged in need of relief. Special studies are required to reveal and appraise the extent of unmet need. Some such have been made, but social workers coming into daily contact with conditions of destitution have borne testimony to the great amount of suffering and destruction of physical and mental health, vocational competence, and family solidarity and morale, owing to inadequate and poorly administered general relief since this function was abandoned by the federal government and left entirely to the states and local communities in 1935. It is to be expected that widespread conditions of this nature would seriously affect family life and relationships and the character and conduct of children and youth. It is therefore not an unreasonable hypothesis that the superior general relief program of 1932-35 in Cincinnati and Hamilton County may have been a great factor in bringing under control in those years the increasing trend toward juvenile delinquency.

Likewise the great increase in juvenile court cases in 1930 and 1931 and again in 1936 and 1937 may be related to the strained relief situation in Cincinnati and Hamilton County in those years. The unemployment, destitution, and inadequate relief of 1930 and 1931

⁵ Ellery F. Reed, "Welfare Expenditures and Relief Rolls Relative to Community Needs," *Social Forces*, December, 1940.

have been cited above. The great flood in Cincinnati in January, 1937, the breakdown of relief owing to failure of the state of Ohio in the spring to renew appropriations, the consequent closing of the County Welfare Department in June of that year, the decline of W.P.A. in the summer, and the precipitate economic recession in the fall combined to create a situation almost as tragic, though not so protracted, as that in the early part of the depression. Although this was not generally appreciated at the time by the public, social workers were aware of the situation. The fact of extensive destitution and suffering in Cincinnati in the summer of 1937 was confirmed by a study made under the auspices of the Cincinnati Bureau of Government Research.

Factors helping possibly to check the rise of delinquency in the period 1938-40, inclusive, were: industrial recovery and increased employment; unemployment insurance; and the relatively improved local relief program. The local unemployment census in May, 1940, indicated for Hamilton County approximately 34,000 totally unemployed as compared with 52,000 in May, 1938. Another factor tending to ease the relief situation in this recent period was the introduction of unemployment insurance benefits which began in February, 1939. In the year 1939, \$2,506,545 was paid to 24,075 unemployed beneficiaries in Hamilton County. In March, 1940, the stamp plan for distribution of surplus commodities was introduced, and this made available to relief clients a greatly improved food supply. The program of the City Relief Division was also gradually improved in the years 1938-40. The Division grew out of the disruption and breakdown of relief following the closing of the Hamilton County Welfare Department in 1937. While relief funds have not been adequate and case loads have been excessive, there has been no neglect of need during this recent period comparable to what occurred in 1937.

RELATION OF JUVENILE TO ADULT ARRESTS

The increase in juvenile arrests as a percentage of total arrests in Cincinnati from 1929 to 1939 is shown in Table 4.

These percentages emphasize the fact that juvenile delinquency has increased faster than adult crime and misdemeanor. This is reported as general throughout the country and would seem to fit

the hypothesis that the increase of juvenile delinquency has been due to bad economic and social conditions, including inadequate relief in recent years. Children and young people whose characters

TABLE 4
PERCENTAGE OF JUVENILE ARRESTS TO TOTAL
ARRESTS IN CINCINNATI, 1929-39

Year	Per Cent	Year	Per Cent
1929.....	4.0	1935.....	8.0
1930.....	4.1	1936.....	10.0
1931.....	5.3	1937.....	11.8
1932.....	5.7	1938.....	11.6
1933.....	6.9	1939.....	14.1
1934.....	7.1		

were in the formative stage would naturally be more affected by these adverse conditions than adults.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion appears to be that the increase of juvenile court cases in Hamilton County has not been due chiefly to increase of juvenile population, or of population in the Basin of the city, or to increase of Negro population, or to police activities, or to decline of leisure-time and group-work services, or to the temporary closing of Glenview and Hillcrest schools. On the other hand, there appears to be evidence for the hypothesis that the increase of juvenile delinquency as measured by juvenile court cases has taken place because of adverse economic and social conditions combined at times with grossly inadequate relief during the depression period. The corollary of this is that during the relatively prosperous period of the late twenties and even during the depression, when a well-administered and relatively adequate general relief program, including some work relief, was in force (notably the F.E.R.A.), juvenile court cases showed a downward trend. This hypothesis should be tested by further study, including analysis of representative case histories, in order to reveal in individual cases whether and in what manner insecurity and destitution coupled with inadequate and poorly administered relief were important causative factors in delinquency.

CINCINNATI COMMUNITY CHEST

NOTES AND COMMENT BY THE EDITOR

THE SUPREME COURT AND THE CHILDREN^{*}

ALL friends of working children have rejoiced that the Fair Labor Standards Act has finally been sustained in a unanimous opinion by the United States Supreme Court in *U.S. v. Darby Lumber Company*, 61 Sup. Ct. Rep. 451. And there has been special rejoicing because the Court at the same time clearly reversed the old decision in *Hammer v. Dagenhart* (247 U.S. 251), which declared the first federal child labor law unconstitutional and sent the children back to work just 23 years ago.

But what of the children whose lives were ruined by that earlier opinion, in which the court now says that it was wrong? What of the children who in June, 1918, were condemned by *Hammer v. Dagenhart* to go back to the mills? These were indeed the mills of the gods that ground so slowly that scores of thousands of children have been deprived of their right to become competent citizens of the great democracy. Month in, month out, through all the weary years, from the time of *Hammer v. Dagenhart* in 1918 to the time when the Children's Bureau began to enforce the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, thousands of children have worked for long hours in insanitary mills and have been deprived of their only chance of an education because the court by a vote of 5 to 4 followed an outworn social philosophy and sentenced an army of little children to be the disinherited citizens of our great democracy.

Grace Abbott was the administrator of that first federal child labor law of 1917-18, and she stayed on with the Children's Bureau for more than a year after the law had been declared unconstitutional, to direct the inspections in the war industries, to direct the re-inspection of the mills and factories in some of the states, and to work with Julia Lathrop and Florence Kelley and other friends of working children, to try to draft another child labor law which might have a chance in Congress and also a chance of being sustained even by a reactionary court. But the same court also declared the second law unconstitutional (*Bailey, Collector v. Drexel Furniture Company*, 259 U.S. 20 [1922]).

The effect of *Hammer v. Dagenhart* is a matter of record. During the summer of 1918 investigators of the industrial division of the Children's

^{*} A few paragraphs from this editorial were sent as a "letter" to the *New Republic*, March 24, 1941.

Bureau revisited North Carolina and reinspected 53 mills and factories in the different parts of the state. The millowners had lost no time in putting young children back to work everywhere. In 52 of the 53 establishments the federal standards had, in a few months, been thrown to the winds. The report showed 622 children under 14 at work in this one state, and 430 were employed in violation of the age provisions even of the North Carolina law. The inspectors also found 91 children working who were in the age group five to nine. In some plants the investigators were detained in the office until many of the children had been sent home, and in others the children followed instructions and ran or hid as the investigator approached, so that all the children employed in the factories could not be interviewed. This story is all told in Grace Abbott's official report on the *Administration of the First Federal Child Labor Law* (Children's Bureau Pub. No. 78).

After the Supreme Court declared the children's law unconstitutional in 1918, the millowners went from the federal eight-hour day back to the long day of eleven or twelve hours, with the little children and the adult workers usually employed the same number of hours. And in the mills which were working day and night shifts children under sixteen years of age were found illegally employed on the night shifts.

Five years after the *Dagenhart* decision further evidence of what this Supreme Court opinion had meant for the children of our democracy was found by a well-known newspaper man, Lowell Mellett,¹ who took the trouble to visit the Dagenhart family in North Carolina in the hope of seeing the Dagenhart boys, whose father's right to send them to work instead of to school had been upheld by our highest court. Quoting *King Lear*, "How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is to have a thankless child," Lowell Mellett described the two boys John and Reuben Dagenhart as "ungrateful sons," who did not appreciate all that their father and the Supreme Court of the United States had done in their behalf. He could not find John Dagenhart, whose father had defended his small son's constitutional right to go on working in a cotton mill at the age of twelve; but he found John's brother Reuben, then twenty years old, in Charlotte, North Carolina. Lowell Mellett reported that although Reuben Dagenhart at the age of twenty was a married man with one child, he was "about the size of an office boy" and weighed 105 pounds.

"What benefit," Mr. Mellett asked Reuben Dagenhart, "did you get out of the suit which you won in the United States Supreme Court?"

¹ See Grace Abbott, *The Child and the State*, I, 461-515, and this *Review*, XIII (September, 1939), 409-39.

"You mean the suit the Fidelity Manufacturing Company won?" he replied. (It was the Fidelity Company for which the Dagenharts were working.) "I don't see that I got any benefit. I guess I'd been a lot better off if they hadn't won it. Look at me! A hundred and five pounds, a grown man and no education. I may be wrong, but I think the years I've put in in the cotton mills have stunted my growth (the dust and the lint, maybe). They kept me from getting any schooling. I had to stop school after the third grade, and now I need the education I didn't get. But from 12 years old on, I was working 12 hours a day—from 6 in the morning till 7 at night, with time out for meals. And sometimes I worked nights besides. Lifting a hundred pounds and I only weighed 65 pounds myself."

"Just what did you and John get out of that suit, then?" was asked.

"Why, we got some automobile rides when them big lawyers from the North was down here. Oh, yes, and they bought both of us a coca cola! That's all we got out of it."

"What did you tell the judge when you were in court?"

"Oh, John and me never was in court! Just Paw was there. John and me was just little kids in short pants. I guess we wouldn't have looked like much in court. We were working in the mill while the case was going on. But Paw went up to Washington."

Reuben hadn't been to school, but his mind has not been idle. He said, "It would have been a good thing for all the kids in this state if that law they passed had been kept. Of course, they do better now than they used to. You don't see so many babies working in the factories, but you see a lot of them that ought to be going to school."

"What about John? Is he satisfied with the way things turned out?"

"I don't know. Prob'ly not. He's not much bigger than me and he's got flat feet."

"How about your father?"

"Oh, he's satisfied, I guess. But I know one thing. I ain't going to let them put my kid sister in the mill, like he's thinking of doing! She's only fifteen and she's crippled and I bet I stop that!"

Lowell Mellett's impressive testimony added to the cumulative evidence of the permanent damage to the children.

It is significant that the recent opinion should have come in another case in which an industry in a southern state attempted to prevent enforcement of another attempt to protect working children. In 1918 it was a cotton mill at Charlotte, North Carolina, where Reuben and John Dagenhart were employed. This year it was a southern lumber company that appealed to the Supreme Court to declare the Fair Labor Standards Act unconstitutional.

Mr. Justice Stone said in the recent *Darby Lumber Company* case, which came up from Georgia:

The conclusion is inescapable that *Hammer v. Dagenhart* was a departure from the principles which have prevailed in the interpretation of the commerce clause both before and since the decision and that such vitality, as a precedent, as it then had has long since been exhausted. It should be and now is overruled.

O, wise and upright judge!

Hammer v. Dagenhart is overruled! But what of the army of children who have come and gone from the mills and factories and lumber yards, the millions of weary days of work, and the lost vision of an education to do a proper share of the world's work? These children now living as unemployed workers should indict the Supreme Court of these United States for their stunted minds and broken lives.

Grace Abbott said in a frequently quoted address that you could not make up to children who were deprived of proper food and proper education one year by giving them a substitute the next year. Nor can the Supreme Court at this late date make compensation to the children whose deprivations and sufferings were caused by a judicial decision now said to have been wrong. The children will be forgiven if they think there is neither equity nor justice in the world's highest court to which they looked in despair nearly a quarter of a century ago.

Florence Kelley, Julia Lathrop, and Grace Abbott are no longer here to know that the court has at last changed its mind. But in the hour of rejoicing over the sinner who finally repenteth let us not forget these three great women who in 1918 faced the court with indomitable and incomparable courage as they tried to find—out of their matchless resources of mind and heart—some new way to see justice done and to restore their birthright to the disinherited children of our democracy.

W.P.A. IN THE FRONT LINE

A DEFICIENCY appropriation of \$375,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941, for the W.P.A. has been approved by the House of Representatives and is before the Senate as this goes to press. If this is approved, W.P.A. will be able to employ 1,750,000 men in March, 1,550,000 in April, 1,400,000 in May, and 1,300,000 in June. And then?

The President's budget message asked for only \$987,000,000 for W.P.A. for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1941. But this will take care only of something like 1,100,000 or 1,200,000 men. The special tragedy here lies

in the fact that, in addition to the 1,750,000 employed by W.P.A. in March, 1941, there are another million men, heads of families and "un-attached" men and women, eligible for W.P.A., waiting on the interminable waiting lists—that is, 2,750,000 now in need of the help given by W.P.A., and after July 1 not more than 1,200,000 to be employed.

An interesting article from Washington, published in the *Nation* (February 8, 1941), described the W.P.A. as "facing its annual fight for life" and pointed out that "under many circumstances a W.P.A. project may prove more important to the defense of democracy than a flying fortress."

Will the W.P.A. still be necessary in spite of the expanded so-called defense industries? The *Nation* quotes Mr. Howard Hunter, the acting administrator, as saying that "re-employment during the next fiscal year will make only a small dent in work relief rolls and not even tap the huge waiting list of certified and uncertified eligibles."

The *Nation's* correspondent comments further about "the danger in a small and inflexible appropriation," and reports that

a small bloc of progressives in Congress has advanced informally the suggestion that enough money be appropriated to take care of the maximum number of unemployed, and that this be spent on a month-to-month basis of actual need. But this will remain little more than a suggestion, unless the Administration and labor are willing to fight. "Total defense," said President Roosevelt in his budget message, "means more than weapons. It means people of health and stamina, conscious of their democratic rights and responsibilities." W.P.A. can play an important part in translating the President's words into a program for human defense.

It is important to note that the American Federation of Labor believes that there will be six and a half or six million unemployed in the United States at the end of the year, despite the big increase in jobs caused by the national defense program and aid to Britain, according to estimates in the February issue of the *American Federationist*. The A.F. of L. estimate of unemployment in December was 7,906,000. "The increase in employment has not been as rapid to date as was originally expected from the defense program," the A.F. of L. Research Service pointed out:

There were almost two million more people employed in December, 1940, than in December 1939. As the defense work continues, the increase in employment will be at a faster rate but probably not as fast as some of the most hopeful estimates indicate.

The defense expenditures for the next year are currently expected to be about ten billion dollars. Manufacturers estimate that it takes, on the average, \$6,000 of investment to put one wage-earner to work in the manufacturing industries. Roughly, this supports the conservative estimate, stated by Acting Commissioner Hunter of the WPA, in a radio address January 14, that an additional two million persons would get jobs in private industry during 1941.

This, then is the picture: There were some eight million persons unemployed at

the end of 1940. If the Army takes nearly one million and private industry two or two and a half million persons during 1941, the unemployment would be reduced to four and a half or five million if no new workers came into the labor market.

However, if we may anticipate at least half a million normal increase and perhaps a million abnormal increase in workers looking for jobs, adding these to the unemployed, we may have six or six and a half million job hunters still unemployed at the end of 1941.

Some parts of the country can expect little stimulus from defense work. In those areas, older workers or those who have been unemployed for long periods will have relatively little chance to get work. The \$987,000,000 allotted to the WPA for the next fiscal year will not be enough to provide for all those left unemployed by private industry. It will care for about the same percentage of unemployed persons (twenty-five per cent) as are now on WPA.

In his testimony on the Deficiency Appropriation Bill for the fiscal Year 1941,¹ Mr. Howard Hunter called attention to the fact that in many areas of the country, especially the states in the middle and southern sections, "the relief needs are as great now as they have been for a long time and there are not many national defense projects." Mr. Hunter added: "It is our opinion in the W.P.A. that we should not penalize the State of Nebraska or the State of Arkansas, where the need is just as great as it was before, merely because they do not happen to have any national defense projects."

Social workers who understand the grave situation caused by a decrease in W.P.A. employment are waiting anxiously for the Congress to decide whether or not the welfare of the people is to be considered in our first line of defense.

INTERSTATE MIGRATION

THE Tolan Committee was appointed by the last House of Representatives to inquire into "the interstate migration of destitute citizens, to study, survey and investigate the social and economic needs and movement of indigent persons across state lines." The Committee has now issued four large volumes of "Hearings,"² but the Committee has not yet issued anything in the way of a report except a preliminary statement summarizing the chief points of the witnesses.

However, Congressman Tolan of California, chairman of the House Committee, in advance of any general legislation his committee may sub-

¹ Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, February, 1941.

² *Interstate Migration: Hearings before the Select Committee To Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, House of Representatives, Seventy-sixth Congress, Third Session, Pursuant to H. Res. 63 and H. Res. 491* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1940), Parts I-IV. Pp. 1758.

mit as a result of their coast-to-coast hearings, has introduced a bill designed especially to protect the destitute workers who have been crowding into the new "boom towns" where large industrial plants for the new defense program have been located. Mr. Tolan estimates that the migration of these workers with their families to the new towns has meant the migration of something like a million persons in the last few months. Houses have already been built for some two hundred and fifty thousand skilled workers in the defense areas, but no provision has been made for the hundreds of thousands of unskilled workers and a vast number of workers who, for one reason or another, cannot be employed on the defense program in these areas.

The new Tolan bill, entitled "Employment Agency Act of 1941," will regulate labor contractors and private employment agencies who may attempt to take advantage of migratory workers. This bill would require employment agencies engaged in interstate commerce to register with the Secretary of Labor, pay an annual fee of \$100, file with the Secretary certain required information and a bond of \$3,000-\$5,000. The bill prohibits an employment agency from giving false or misleading information concerning employment or charging fees other than those specifically listed with the Secretary.

It is, of course, little short of tragic that the new employment services are not able to prevent this exploitation of the destitute workers who have already suffered so cruelly as a result of the depression of the last decade.

The four volumes of "Hearings" already issued by the Tolan Committee include testimony taken in New York City; Montgomery, Alabama; Chicago, Illinois; and Lincoln, Nebraska. The Committee went on west after the Nebraska Hearings, and other volumes will be published later.

Witnesses came from the areas around the cities selected for the hearings. In New York City, the New England states, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, as well as upstate New York, furnished testimony of many kinds. The Chicago hearings brought witnesses from Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Wisconsin, as well as from different sections of Illinois. People came to Montgomery from Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, and North Carolina. They came to Lincoln, Nebraska, from North and South Dakota, Iowa, and Colorado.

In these four initial volumes the Committee has given the testimony of 168 different witnesses—including governors; mayors; directors of state, county, and city welfare departments; representatives of private social agencies; professors of agricultural economics; and, most important of all, men and women "migrants" who furnished the "plain and simple annals

of the poor." Here is a new array of evidence showing the suffering of the people in these last years with general agreement as to the grievous hardships caused by the difficulties of losing "settlement."

The final recommendations of the Committee are being looked for by an increasing and somewhat impatient group of people in different parts of the country who see the so-called "Defense Program" tending to increase seriously the problems of migratory workers.

STONES FOR BREAD

ALTHOUGH relief rolls are slowly coming down, particularly in industrial areas, is a breakdown of general relief to be anticipated? Will legislative attempts to economize be directed at our most needy citizens? In an editorial "Fewer Crumbs for the Poor" the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* has warned the Missouri Legislature "that if the direct relief allocation is further reduced—in fact, if it is not increased—it will almost certainly be for thousands a sentence to unspeakable hardship."

In a timely monograph *Stones for Bread*¹ will be found the results of the survey by a special committee on relief appointed by the Missouri Association for Social Welfare who began, early in 1940, to collect data on the relief situation in Missouri during the past year. Social workers were gravely concerned about the serious conditions that were believed to exist through the state because of lack of adequate funds for general relief. The Committee's warning is significant:

In this hour of challenge and peril, it becomes essential to look within, and to examine our own weaknesses. In any system of defense, bread is as fundamental as cannon. Hungry people are prey to totalitarian leaders. Hungry people can easily become brutalized. We can build a strong civilization only as we are a unified whole and assume our full social responsibilities. This problem of relief touches the lives of all of us; it must be the concern of all of us.

In March, 1940, an average of only \$13.51 per family was being provided to 80,558 persons on general relief rolls as compared with the national average monthly grant of \$24.87, which is, of course, far below a "health and decency minimum." Even more serious is the fact that these grants were limited to those who were unemployable and handicapped and beyond these were the thousands of needy "employable unemployed" for whom neither work nor relief was available.

Stones for Bread includes a series of studies on relief conditions made

¹ *Stones for Bread: A Description of Relief Needs in Missouri*. St. Louis: Mendle Printing Co., 1940; published for the Missouri Association for Social Welfare. Pp. 95.

in twenty-three different areas of the state—in the cities and in the rural districts, from the rich farm lands in the north to the timbered Ozarks and “swamp-east” Missouri in the south. The questions throughout are:



Filepatrick in the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch"

DIRECT RELIEF IN MISSOURI

“Who are these people on relief? How do they get along? What has become of those who were not able to obtain relief?” The data have been collected not only by professional social workers, but also through the participation of more than two hundred persons and organizations in the

state, including educators; lay groups; public officials; and various public, civic, and social organizations. The method and style of presentation give this publication clarity, force, and dignity. *Stones for Bread* makes available for widespread dissemination the kind of information which the general public must have if it is to be made aware of the status of the internal social conditions upon which we are seeking to erect this enormous superstructure for national defense.

Further evidence of the urgency of this problem is set forth in an official document issued by the Colorado State Department of Public Welfare and the Denver Bureau of Public Welfare under the title *The Denver Relief Study*.¹

The findings and conclusions of these two studies, one official and the other unofficial, are in essence the same, and parallel conclusions may be deduced for every other state in the union from official reports of state and federal agencies.

A high percentage of the people receiving or in need of general relief are children and young people. The gravity of the implications of this fact has been presented by many other sources, particularly by the 1940 White House Conference on "Children in a Democracy," which estimated that in March, 1939, there were over 2,400,000 children receiving general relief in this country.

Legislative bodies have been reluctant to appropriate sufficient funds to fulfil the requirements of the law for the public assistance groups, and in every state appropriations for general relief have been even less. The economic factor is definitely correlated with health and social problems. Deficiency in food essentials; a high percentage of substandard dwellings that are overcrowded, insanitary, and far from conducive to normal, wholesome living; insufficient winter clothing; lack of adequate medical care; and economic insecurities expressed by tension and anxiety are reflected in the mental and physical condition of these people.

No plan for national defense can absorb the vast majority of these people who remain unemployed today. For these desperate "dispossessed people" there must be a general relief program to "relieve their distress and prevent further deterioration," for the refugees of our own economic and social system must be a part of our civilization tomorrow. This is the note sounded in this vivid and authoritative study.

MARTHA BRANSCOMBE

¹ Reviewed in the December, 1940, issue of this *Review*, p. 796.

WASHINGTON STATE ADOPTS A NEW OLD AGE PENSION PLAN

THE state of Washington, by means of its initiative and referendum, adopted in the last election a law providing a minimum of forty dollars monthly to "Senior Citizens over the age of sixty-five." The "declaration of intent" contained the following important statement:

On no other issue are the people of the State of Washington, as well as our nation, as united as they are in recognition of the economic and social necessity of returning to our Senior Citizens, the fathers and mothers of our country, part of the wealth which their labor helped to create.

It is simple justice that our government, which owes its industrial construction, its farms, its factories, its entire capital wealth, in fact, to the labor of its pioneers, should provide as an obligation and not as charity some measure of security to the pioneers.

Although a uniform national pension of prosperity proportions, based on the principles embodied in the Townsend and General Welfare Bills, awarded as a matter of right, not need, is the only adequate and just kind of a pension, until such a pension is won it still remains the duty of the State of Washington at least to take full advantage of the maximum in matching funds that the Federal Government is willing to provide under the Federal Social Security Act, for those without resources and income.

It is therefore hereby declared to be the intention of this measure to provide for Washington's Senior Citizens over sixty-five as liberally as is possible under the terms of the Federal Social Security Act for securing matching funds.

The senior citizen grants are to be awarded to any person aged sixty-five or over who has a yearly income of less than \$480 and a monthly income of less than \$40. There are certain other qualifications with regard to residence, transfer of property, etc., but there is no provision for a payment of less than \$40, if the individual applicant's income, which must be less than \$40, is almost reached. It is understood that payments under the plan are due to begin in the near future. Just what the relationship of the state of Washington, under this new law, will be to the federal grant-in-aid is not yet announced.

FOOD STAMPS IN NEW YORK CITY

A MAJOR extension of the Food Stamp Plan was scheduled for March 1 when the plan was due to go into operation in the five boroughs of New York City. The plan had already been operating in New York on an experimental basis in Brooklyn, limited to home-relief recipients, with approximately twenty thousand families participating.

The new program for New York is to cover the entire city and will also include, in addition to home relief cases, Board of Child Welfare cases, veteran cases, W.P.A. employees and their families, and such families as are now receiving surplus commodities through the private agencies. Approximately 225,000 families, including 775,000 persons, will be eligible to participate in the new plan, distributed as follows: home relief, 108,500; W.P.A., 61,000; Board of Child Welfare, 24,000; veteran, 6,500; private agency, 25,000.

The stamps are to be sold at thirty-two home relief district offices every weekday evening between 5:00 and 10:00 P.M. and on Saturday afternoons between 12:00 M. and 3:00 P.M.

The Chicago experiment has shown that a great metropolitan area can work out a method for using the stamp plan. Unfortunately, in Chicago participation in the plan has been compulsory on the clients. In New York there is to be voluntary participation. In Chicago any eligible client must take food stamps in lieu of the cash allowance for the food budget. In New York the client is to receive cash and then buy his food stamps or not as he wishes.

The Chicago plan is, on the whole, well accepted by the clients and running quite smoothly in spite of the hardships in connection with the compulsory aspect of the plan. However, there has not been an increase of evictions, as was anticipated, and plans are being made in Chicago to make the stamps available for agencies other than the Chicago Relief Administration in the near future.

SALUTING THE FLAG

A SEQUEL to the case in which the United States Supreme Court upheld the right of a local board of education to require children to salute the flag is found in a recent opinion by the attorney-general of Illinois. In response to a request from a local state's attorney who reported that a controversy had arisen in a country school where one of the students had refused to participate in the ceremony of saluting the national flag, the attorney-general said that the school board was "within its rights in expelling the pupil who refuses, because of religious scruples, to salute the American Flag." This opinion was handed down in Springfield, Illinois, once the home of Abraham Lincoln, a day or two before Lincoln's birthday, 1941.

There are still many citizens of Lincoln's state who do not believe that this is in accord with Lincoln's idea of religious freedom in a democracy.

But the opinion of the United States Supreme Court¹ has unfortunately supported the attorney-general's point of view regarding this policy which unfortunately denies to many citizens the benefits of a long-established democratic principle.

WATCHMAN, WHAT OF THE NIGHT?

A TRAGIC horde of refugees of all ages, now stranded in Lisbon, hoping vainly for some method of escape to America is described by a special correspondent of the *New York Times* who wrote from Lisbon. The *Times* estimates that there are 8,000 homeless and stateless persons waiting in Portugal to escape from a world at war. "These 8,000 are only a fraction of the millions seeking refuge in the Western Hemisphere . . . but the story of these people is one chapter in this human tragedy that has been brought about by the new political regimes on the European continent."

Most of the refugees now in Portugal came in after the German invasion of the Low Countries, provided they were able to get some kind of visa. "The refugees in desperation got any kind of visa they could—Chinese, Cuban, Siamese, or from the countries of South America—though they arrived with neither transportation nor means to get to those countries."

By the end of August there were 11,000 of this group in Portugal, many of them destitute. The correspondent of the *New York Times* reported that those who had money crowded the hotels and caused a severe housing problem, but since then, "through the generous co-operation of the Portuguese Government and the organizing ability of groups like the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the flow of these refugees had been controlled," and they are said to be cared for "in the most humanitarian way."

A further extract from the *New York Times* report may be of interest:

The Portuguese Government first controlled the movement of refugees from France to Portugal by making sure that all those applying for visas actually had transportation to the United States or some other country and they also checked to make sure that the people sincerely intended to go to the countries for which they had visas. At the same time, American committees established headquarters on the Spanish frontier in a little Portuguese town called Villar Formosa, helped the refugees to get into Portugal and set up an organization

¹ See this *Review*, XIV (September, 1940), 574-75.

here in Lisbon to feed and clothe the refugees and help them get out to other countries.

The main problem of Portugal and the committees at the moment is to move the 8,000 who are left out of the original 11,000, most of whom got into the country with useless visas. Of the 8,000, some 90 per cent are Jews and 1,500 of them destitute. . . . About 500 of them eat communal meals paid for by the American Jewish Distribution Committee. They come down to the docks to say farewell to their friends on the "Excambion" (or the "Excalibur") and tomorrow and the next day, as for the last few months, they will go through the same tedious routine while waiting for passage and permission to enter other countries.

The Portuguese people have been unusually kind to them. They have taken them into their homes and given them clothes, for many arrived with nothing but what they wore at the time, and the government has consistently extended their visas to allow them to remain here until new homes can be found. There has even been co-operation in establishing schools for refugee children. . . .

These people are being well treated by the Portuguese authorities, who have taken the general line that they are willing to help those refugees who already are here, but unwilling to establish a permanent refugee colony.

The recent decision of United States authorities to allow the refugees in Portugal to take out new American immigration quota numbers, instead of waiting for refugees in Poland who have numbers to get to the United States, has helped relieve the strain. The Netherlands and Belgian Governments also are helping by allowing refugees to go to the Netherlands Indies and the Belgian Congo, but most of those waiting here, hope to get to the United States.

Meanwhile very little is now being done about the main mass of refugees still in the occupied countries. Refugee officials in Lisbon have recently estimated the racial and political refugees in various countries at 1,500,000 in Poland, 240,000 in Germany, 80,000 in Czecho-Slovakia, 1,000,000 in Hungary, 400,000 in Rumania, 60,000 in Italy, 100,000 in France and the same number in Spain.

In France alone there are 40,000 in camps, but very few of these refugees can even get transit visas to come to this last port of exile from Europe.

THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU LOOKS AHEAD

MISS LENROOT'S last annual report, which has just been published as part of the Secretary of Labor's report for the fiscal year 1939-40, reviews the expanding opportunities for the Bureau whose work seven years ago was largely in the field of research, publication, and the long-time advisory services. These new opportunities for the Bureau have developed as a result of increased recognition of the nation's responsibility for providing for the economic and social security of the people.

Miss Lenroot reviews the work of the past seven years and notes that the special needs of children were considered and provided for in the codes of fair competition developed under the National Industrial Recovery Act, the Social Security Act, the Public Contracts Acts, and the Fair Labor Standards Act. A beginning in meeting the problems of child-workers in industrialized agriculture has now been made under legislation providing benefits for growers of sugar beets and sugar cane.

In the administration of those parts of the Social Security Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act which concern children (except public assistance and social insurance measures) the Children's Bureau has participated, or has been given responsibility for the execution of laws placed upon the statute-books.

The seven years under consideration have been marked by a continuation of the Bureau's basic research, reporting and advisory services, further development of the current statistical series which make possible a continuing evaluation of national trends in various aspects of child welfare, and the addition of important administrative responsibilities—including the administration of three types of federal aid to the states under the Social Security Act and the administration of the child-labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act. International co-operation in advancing the welfare of children has been promoted through various international and Pan-American agencies. The Children's Bureau has also carried the executive responsibility for the planning and organization of the 1940 White House Conference on Children in a Democracy—the fourth in a series of decennial conferences on children held under presidential auspices.

Summaries of the most important developments in which the work of the Children's Bureau has played a conspicuous part deal with the Maternal and Child Health program, in which important research activities have been carried forward. The role of nutrition in child growth and development has received increasing attention. Rickets studies, begun in 1922, have been continuous and have thrown new light on the prevention, diagnosis, treatment of the disease, and on its aftereffects. Surveys of maternal and child-health services have been made in a number of areas.

Grants-in-aid to the states are extending and strengthening the maternal and child-health services, especially in rural areas and areas suffering from severe economic distress. The public-health agencies of all the states, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia, are participating in the program. Active postgraduate educational programs

for doctors, public-health nurses, and dentists are improving the quality of care for mothers and children. In 1940 some health service for mothers and children was being rendered by doctors, public-health nurses, and other health-workers in about two-thirds of the three thousand counties of Continental United States, benefiting hundreds of thousands of mothers and several million infants and children.

Of very great importance are the striking decreases in maternal and infant mortality rates which have taken place since 1933, to be attributed in large measure to the maternal and child-health services carried on in the states under the maternal and child-health program. The infant death-rate dropped from 58 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1933 to 48 in 1939 (provisional rate). The maternal death-rate dropped from 62 per 10,000 live born infants in 1933 to 40 in 1939 (provisional), a decrease of 35 per cent.

With \$5,820,000 now available for grants-in-aid to the states for the Maternal and Child-Health Program, and \$3,870,000 for services for crippled children, the Bureau has been able to carry on services of far-reaching, national importance on our first line of defense.

While children needing orthopedic and plastic treatment are the chief beneficiaries under the Crippled Children's Program, children with other types of handicaps are also included. Under the 1939 amendments to the Social Security Act a beginning of service for children suffering from heart disease is now being made in ten states. In June, 1940, 266,387 children were on the crippled children's registers maintained by the state crippled children's agencies under state plans of service. These plans provide for locating crippled children and for providing diagnosis, medical and surgical treatment, hospital and convalescent care, and aftercare services. Prior to the enactment of the Social Security Act not more than twelve states were conducting such services for crippled children on a state-wide basis, and services were confined for the most part to urban children. These services are now carried on with the help of the Children's Bureau in all the states, the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico.

Miss Lenroot's report devotes special attention to the Bureau's work in behalf of working children. At the beginning of 1933 only two states had established sixteen years as the basic minimum age for gainful employment. Now thirteen states have established such a standard. In 1933 there was no federal regulation. Now the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act for establishments shipping goods in interstate commerce sets a basic minimum age of sixteen years for employment, with a minimum of eight-

een years for employment in hazardous occupations, and minimum ages of sixteen for boys and eighteen for girls are set by the Public Contracts Act. An attempt at some regulation of child labor in industrialized agriculture has been made under federal legislation establishing sugar quotas and benefits. Under the Fair Labor Standards Act marked advance has been made in control of industrial home work, a form of production in which children have been seriously exploited.

The Children's Bureau has responsibility for administering the child-labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act. As authorized by this Act, the Children's Bureau relies extensively in its enforcement upon the co-operation of state agencies. In forty-two states employment certificates issued by the states are recognized by the Children's Bureau as evidence of age. Through the co-operative relationships established under the Act methods of state administration and supervision of employment-certificate provisions of state laws have been greatly strengthened. The Children's Bureau also co-operates actively in inspection work with the Wage and Hour Division of the United States Department of Labor.

Since the early months of 1933, twenty-two states have ratified the child-labor amendment, increasing the total number of ratifications to twenty-eight. Eight more ratifications are needed to give the children engaged in intrastate work the protection they now have in interstate work.

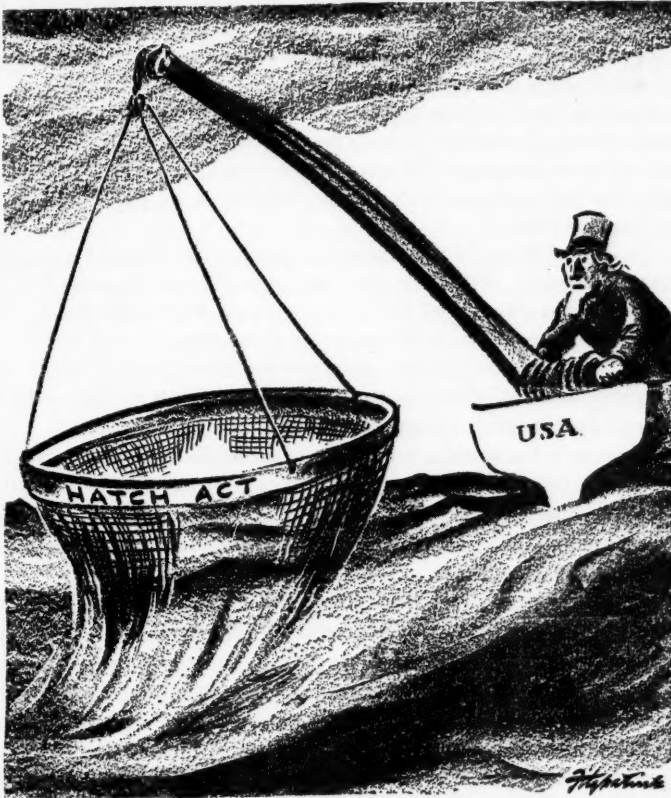
With the practical outlawing of child labor in most manufacturing and mining operations (because of their interstate character), problems relating to the employment of children in intrastate occupations in states with relatively low standards, and more effective protection for the hundreds of thousands of young children in agricultural employment of an industrial character remain to be solved.

The Bureau's report gives encouragement to all the friends of children.

THE HATCH ACTS MUST BE EXTENDED

SENATOR TOBEY of New Hampshire on February 21 said that the inquiry of the Senate Committee on Campaign Expenditures into the last Presidential election showed that the Hatch acts had failed to prevent extravagant use of money in elections. He added, however, that the Hatch acts had had the effect of preventing assessment of federal officeholders for political purposes, and in this respect he said they had been a success.

The Senate committee's report will make some suggestions for strengthening the Hatch acts, said the Senator, though lawyers for the committee have reported that there is no way to prevent state committees from accepting contributions and using them for national candidates.



Fitzpatrick in the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch"

THE NET NEEDS PATCHING

Senator Hatch said he was studying the committee's report and expected to offer some amendments. He agreed that not much could be done to stop heavy contributions to state committees since they could not be brought under the federal law.

Speaking before the National Institute of Law Officers in Washington, D.C., before the new Congress assembled, Mr. Harry B. Mitchell, president of the United States Civil Service Commission, was reported in the *New York Times*, December 7, 1940, to have said that the work of enforcing the Hatch acts was a very heavy burden upon his commission. In a period of six months, he stated, about 75 violations had been reported, some not statutory and others outside the commission's jurisdiction, and at least 51 cases were under investigation.

Congress tried by these acts to prevent partisan political activity by persons whose employment is made possible by funds which are the property of the entire nation. "The legislation contemplated the elimination of actions and practices which are inappropriate on the part of a servant of the whole public."

Chairman Gillette of the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee charged, however, that, while there had probably been irregular frauds, violations, and abuses in all elections of the past, he thought that he did not exaggerate when he said that never in American history had there been a "more patent, potent, and potential attempt to influence the American electoral ballot box through the expenditure of huge sums of money" than in the campaign of 1940.

Speaking in the Washington Star National Radio Forum broadcast by the National Broadcasting Company, Senator Gillette said that while the Hatch acts were a long step forward toward clean elections, recent experience indicated the insistent need for amendment of both measures and the Corrupt Practices Act.

Among the recommendations proposed by Senator Gillette were the following: (1) the adoption by all states of "little Hatch Acts" that would prevent coercion of public employees; (2) the enactment by Congress of legislation that would prevent the political coercion of private employees; (3) the actual purging of fraudulent names on voter registration lists; (4) the strengthening of the Corrupt Practices Act prohibitions against corporate campaign contributions; (5) prevention of abuses of the farm program either by federal employees or local committees for political purposes.

Senator Gillette said the information on which he based his charges and recommendations came from Campaign Expenditures Committee investigations of 33 specific complaints in 18 states.

"THE LONDON'S" BICENTENNIAL

THE two-hundredth birthday of the great London Hospital, known familiarly to Whitechapel and beyond as "the London," was celebrated by the enemy bombing that tore cruel wounds in its buildings but left its spirit unbroken. The chairman gave out a statement in which he said: "It is our privilege to serve the East Londoner who has suffered so bitterly, so heart-breakingly, in this wanton and wicked attack. The East End under 'terror bombing' has shown a wonderful spirit, and we are proud to share in its vicissitudes." The Board of Governors of the great hospital announce that the London is ready for its "third century of humane effort. . . . Despite calamities, medical science marches on towards new fields of opportunity." Florence Nightingale was a "life governor" of "the London," Edith Cavell "trained" at the London, and Sir Wilfred Grenfell of Labrador, the great medical missionary known to so many Americans, received his medical education at the London and was at one time "house surgeon." A bomb destroyed the great clock, made by Ellicot, which had told the time on the hospital façade in East London for one hundred and eighty-three years. The old clock, which had associations with so many generations of East London people, was a gift of the famous clockmaker's workpeople, and our Benjamin Franklin, who said, "Time is money," saw it in its infancy. For Franklin was a great friend of Ellicot, the clockmaker, and the tradition is that Franklin visited the London many times. So many old associations have been shattered in Whitechapel and the other East London districts.

THE L.C.C. SUBSTITUTES SOCIAL WELFARE FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

THE January number of the *Labour Woman*, published by the British Labour Party, contains the following very important announcement:

The Labour-controlled London County Council has changed the name of its Public Assistance Committee to the "Social Welfare Committee." Mr. Charles Latham, giving Labour's reasons for the change, said it indicated a determination to sweep away every vestige of the humiliating Poor Law. It was unfortunate that the Council could not also remove the term "Relieving Officer," but that would need an Act of Parliament. Public Assistance latterly had not meant merely financial assistance; it had meant giving the care lacking to the victims of the existing economic system. But the lingering taint of the Poor Law had remained, however much the services and the spirit had changed. Tory members of the Council opposed the proposal, but it was carried by 57 votes to 18.

AN IMPORTANT MESSAGE FROM
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

ON FEBRUARY 24, 1941, the President sent an important message to Congress with a request for an appropriation of \$150,000,000 to provide "community facilities in which essential national defense activities are necessary and cannot otherwise be provided for." The President has in mind apparently not only the hastily grown-up mushroom cities and towns near the camps but also the new or overgrown communities near the new industrial plants set up for defense purposes. It is to be hoped that the President and his committee in charge of the "co-ordination of health, medical and welfare services" may be prepared to offer direct services as well as such "facilities" as hospitals, schools, recreation centers, and buildings of various kinds. If the young men and the families of the workers hastily recruited for the new centers of activity are made to wait for a large number of states and still larger numbers of local communities to organize for these new services, which are so greatly needed today in so many areas and will be even more urgently needed tomorrow in these and other areas, irreparable damage will have been caused. Our first line of defense is the human beings whose needs must not be overlooked in the new centers.

The President tells us that we must not expect the local governments "to assume all the risk of financing the entire cost" of these necessary public facilities. Since this is a matter of great urgency as well as of supreme importance, there should be no waiting for the local governments to make up their slow minds about bearing any part of the cost. Time is of the essence here, and federal financing of services as well as of "facilities" is all important.

The President's message (House Document 122), which was referred immediately to the House Committee on Appropriations, was as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

The national defense program has required a large expansion of existing military and naval establishments. The Government has constructed new cantonments, air depots, and naval bases. We have financed and stimulated the construction of hundreds of new industrial plants to produce airplanes, guns, powder, ships, and tanks. This program has been spread throughout the country and has resulted in new concentrations of military forces and civilian workers.

Military and naval strategy has been the controlling factor in determining the location of many of these new defense establishments. As a result posts and plants have been necessarily located near communities without adequate public facilities and serv-

ices for the large numbers of workers who arrived to construct them and who will be needed to operate the new establishments. There have been shortages of housing, insufficient sanitary and health facilities, overcrowding of transportation services, and inadequate recreational facilities. In fact, this shortage of essential public facilities has handicapped our rearmament effort in some areas.

The Government has already embarked on a defense housing program, but that is not enough. We must do more to obtain the most effect from new plants, new houses, and, most important, from new workers. There is need, in some areas, for improved streets and roads to carry the increased traffic, additional water supply and sewerage systems to service the new structures, and better health, safety, and welfare facilities to benefit the new workers and their families.

The provision of such community facilities has always been a local responsibility. It still is today; cities generally have been straining to meet the problem. Yet we must face the fact we cannot expect local governments to assume all the risk of financing the entire cost of providing new public facilities for the defense program.

After the defense program comes to an end, these new facilities may not be needed. This increase in operating and service costs may also be much greater than a coexistent rise in local public revenues from an increased business activity. Under these circumstances, equity requires that that element of risk attributable to the national-defense effort should be shared by the Federal Government.

I am therefore transmitting for the consideration of the Congress a supplemental estimate of appropriation to be available for allocation to appropriate Government agencies, and to remain available until expended, in the amount of \$150,000,000 for the purpose of providing community facilities in those communities where there exists or impends such an acute shortage of such facilities as to impede essential national-defense activities, and where such facilities cannot otherwise be provided. This estimate is based upon studies and recommendations submitted by the Chairman of the National Resources Planning Board, the Coordinator of Defense Housing, the Administrator of the Federal Works Agency, the Coordinator of Health, Medical, Welfare and Related Activities Affecting the National Defense, and the Director of the Division of State and Local Cooperation of the Defense Commission.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE

February 24, 1941

NOTES AND NEWS FROM THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

THE annual meeting of the American Association of Schools of Social Work was held in Chicago, January 30—February 1, with 36 of the 38 American schools represented and with 125 delegates from the various school faculties. The program was devoted in part to the usual round-table discussions of field work, methods of teaching case work, public welfare, community organization, or some other subject of interest in the curriculum. But this session was also concerned with the important

study of *Education for the Public Social Services*, which was carried on through the year 1938-39 by a special grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. The delegates expressed a great deal of interest in the relation of the schools to the new assistance programs as set out in the "public social services" report, and there was full attendance at a series of special "round tables." The general discussions were followed by a special round table on "Civil Service." A final subject of discussion was a special program dealing with the "Effect of the Co-ordination of the Social Services under the Defense Program upon the Demand for Trained Personnel." Fred Hoehler of the American Public Welfare Association, who is temporarily serving as executive director of the Joint Army and Navy Committee on Welfare and Recreation, Dean Emery Olson, of the University of Southern California, who is on leave of absence with the Bureau of Education for developing programs of emergency training, and Miss Ruth Wadman, who represents the American Association of Medical Social Workers in charge of emergency training of workers in that field, were among those who participated in the discussion.

There are now 40 member schools in the Association, 38 in this country and 2 in Canada, but although there is general agreement about the program of the first year of graduate study, there is as yet no agreement about the curriculum of the second year. In fact, some schools that enjoy membership in the Association give the Master's degree for what is hardly more than one year of graduate work, although the Association professes to believe in a two-year program as necessary for a competent professional education. There was general agreement about the importance of having the Curriculum Committee devote its attention to the second-year curriculum.

A joint meeting of the Chicago Chapter of the Association of Social Workers and the delegate group of the Association of Schools was held at the University of Chicago to discuss the relation between education for social work and the practice of social work. Later there was opportunity for a friendly discussion among the delegates and the members of the chapter.

An important new feature of the program was a session under the chairmanship of Dr. Helen Wright, assistant dean of the School of Social Service Administration, on the general subject of "Public Welfare Research and the Professional Schools," with carefully prepared papers by Miss Anne Geddes of the Social Security Board's Bureau of Research,

George Keith of the Wisconsin Department of Public Welfare, Malcolm Stinson of the Social Security Board (Minneapolis Region), and Elizabeth Wisner, dean of the Tulane University School of Social Work.

Dr. Arlien Johnson of the University of Southern California was re-elected president of the Association, and Miss Hathway was also re-elected as executive secretary and treasurer. Miss Hathway has been absent for the past month in examining the Puerto Rican situation where the question of re-establishing the School of Social Work is now being given a good deal of consideration. Miss Mary Zahrobsky of the faculty of the School of Social Service Administration took Miss Hathway's place during her absence in Puerto Rico.

A few midyear announcements have come from the various schools. Most important of these is the announcement by Western Reserve of the appointment of Leonard W. Mayo, recently associate director of the New York Welfare Council as the new dean of the School of Applied Social Sciences. Mr. Mayo began work at Cleveland in January as associate dean and professor of social administration and succeeds Dr. Cutler as dean on July 1, 1941. Mr. Mayo is a graduate of Colby College and of the New York School of Social Work and has had long experience in social work. He was known for many years for his work at various children's institutions, particularly in connection with the Children's Village at Dobbs Ferry, New York. He has been a member of the faculty of the New York School of Social Work in charge of courses on institutions and delinquency. During the past summer he served as director of the Child Care Division of the United States Committee for the Care of European Children. He is president of the Child Welfare League of America.

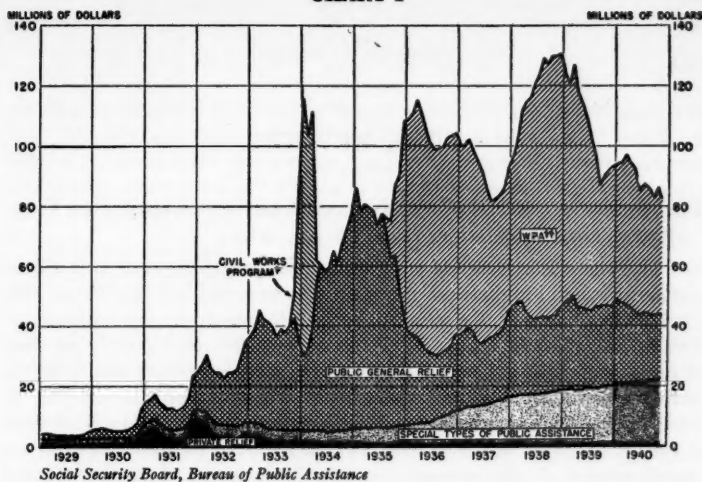
Boston University's new School of Social Work announces the appointment of Richard K. Conant, former director of the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare as dean. The school has been made independent of the old School of Religious Education and Social Service and is offering an enlarged program of graduate training.

The School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago announces the appointment of Dr. Mabel Newcomer, chairman of the Department of Economics of Vassar College, as a special faculty member for the summer to give courses on financing the public welfare program and "The Public Welfare Administrator and Public Finance." The Chicago school also announces the appointment of Mr. Geoffrey May of the Social Security Board as a member of the summer faculty to give courses on the federal-state relationships in the public assistance

program and "The Family and the State." Chicago also announces the appointment of two new instructors: Martha Branscombe (A.M. Chicago, formerly of the Alabama Child Welfare Department) and Alice Shaffer (A.M., Chicago), who has recently returned to the United States from a year of absence with the Friends' Service Committee in Berlin.

The New York School of Social Work announces a leave of absence for Mr. Robert Lansdale of the faculty to become, for one year, director of the Institute of Welfare Research of the Community Welfare Society. Mr. Kenneth Storandt is joining the New York faculty on March 15. New York announces a series of institutes to be held during the regular summer quarter of 1941.

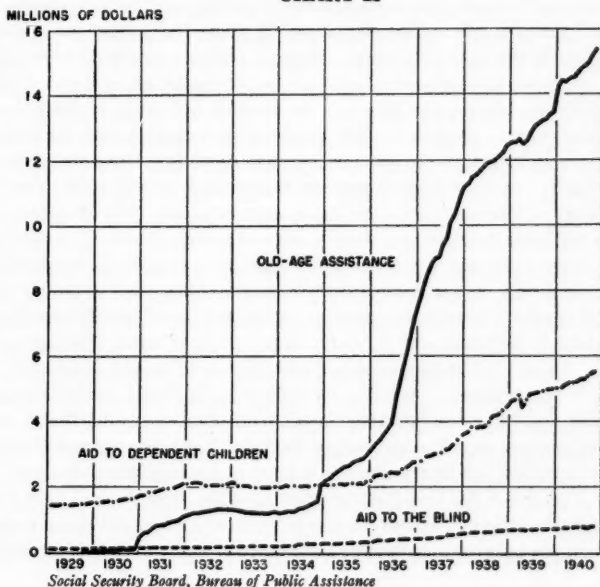
CHART I



PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ASSISTANCE AND EARNINGS OF PERSONS EMPLOYED ON PROJECTS OPERATED BY THE WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION AND UNDER THE CIVIL WORKS PROGRAM IN 116 URBAN AREAS, JANUARY, 1929—NOVEMBER, 1940

† Earnings of all persons employed under the Civil Works Program, including administrative staff.
 †† Earnings on projects operated by the WPA within the areas.

CHART II



PAYMENTS TO RECIPIENTS OF THE SPECIAL TYPES OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN 116 URBAN AREAS, JANUARY, 1929—NOVEMBER, 1940

BOOK REVIEWS

Civil Service in Public Welfare. By ALICE CAMPBELL KLEIN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1940. Pp. 444. \$2.25.

This volume is evidence of our growing professional literature and will be particularly useful to those social workers who have had little experience with civil service. Formerly, the social worker had to consult general references on civil service, which did not specifically discuss problems relating to the selection of persons for social welfare positions, and the scattered articles and addresses written by members of the professional group. The state merit examinations for positions in public assistance and child welfare presently being held will influence personnel standards on a wide scale, and the results of these examinations are eagerly awaited. It is to be hoped that a careful evaluation of the methods used will be made by the respective states and the federal agencies.

Civil Service in Public Welfare is therefore most timely. Part I is a review of the history and growth of the merit system in the United States and a discussion and criticism of the technical problems involved in classification, recruitment, and the examining process. The second half of the book, "Where Social Work and Merit Systems Meet," presents the problems to be met by the profession in applying the merit principle and some of the older civil service procedures to the selection of public welfare employees. In many jurisdictions local social workers, individually and collectively, through chapters of the American Association of Social Workers have had little or no experience in working with civil service commissions, and therefore the material in Part II of this volume should prove very useful to them. The social worker's concern with the type of persons to be appointed to the new merit-system councils in those states which have no legally constituted merit agencies is discussed, as well as the need to protect public welfare positions from many encroachments. The handicaps inherent in residence requirements, both state and county, is briefly presented; but this reviewer, for one, hopes that a more complete analysis of this problem will be made shortly, as a widespread acceptance on the part of the professional group that narrow residence requirements are inevitable will greatly retard any improvement in personnel standards for many years to come. The fact that present local and state public assistance and child welfare salaries are paid in part and, in many instances, wholly from federal funds should not be lost sight of. Chapter xix, "Factors Affecting Social Work Practice under Merit Systems," and chapter xx, "Recommending Entrance Requirements and Grading Total Background," will be of particular interest to schools of social work and to chapters of the A.A.S.W. In discussing public attitudes toward social work Mrs. Klein emphasizes the well-known handicaps we face as one of the newer professions. First, she believes that "public acceptance of social work as a profession

would undoubtedly be facilitated by the use of distinctive degrees for those who have completed graduate curricula in social work" and, second, she points to our lack of formal systems of registration or certification which would guarantee minimum qualifications. In the main, this book stresses certain practical issues which are of immediate concern to social workers.

ELIZABETH WISNER

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
TULANE UNIVERSITY

The Yearbook of Philanthropy, 1940: Presenting Information and Statistics Covering American Philanthropy since the Year 1920, with Charts and Tables. Edited by JOHN PRICE JONES. New York: Inter-river Press, 1940. Pp. 91. Planographed.

The John Price Jones Corporation is an organization that engages professionally in raising money for various types of charitable and philanthropic agencies. Its contacts, therefore, have facilitated preparation of the present report, which is to be published annually hereafter and is certainly a start in the right direction. Hitherto no one has had the temerity to undertake the collection of nation-wide data concerning total gifts to philanthropy (including education and religion), though several organizations, including the Social Science Research Council, have from time to time probed the field experimentally in the hope of devising some method of attacking the problem.

The report leans heavily upon data reported by those who pay federal income taxes and claim deductions for contributions made to charity. These data are, of course, subject to serious limitations. A majority of the population does not file income-tax returns at all. Yet millions of those not obliged to file returns nevertheless make contributions from their small earnings, particularly to religion. A careful effort has been made to remedy these and other deficiencies by pulling in supplementary data from other sources, such as the Middletown study and the Consumer Expenditures study made by the National Resources Planning Board.

An effort has been made to isolate the "determinants of giving." This was done by constructing first a "philanthropic index" based primarily upon contributions reported in income-tax returns, with certain supplementary adjustments and estimates. This index was then compared with certain other indexes—such as cost of living, total taxes, total value of all stocks and bonds, dividends paid by corporations, business activity, etc.—to discover whether some or all of these indexes followed similar patterns of fluctuation. Some singular results ensued. For example, "larger total taxation meant more giving" and a higher cost-of-living index was likewise accompanied by increased gifts to philanthropy. The ultimate conclusion was that "the imponderable and perhaps indefinable element which reflects itself in giving is apparently based on confidence." Although the report contains, of course, no factual material that would justify

this finding, the data are, nevertheless, very useful in ruling out certain time-worn clichés, such as "confiscatory taxation is sounding the death knell of private philanthropy."

In the later sections of the report special analyses are provided of contributions to universities and colleges, community chests, hospitals, religious organizations, museums, foundations and community trusts, and a few other fields of less general concern.

Despite all the inevitable gaps in the data, this report must, nevertheless, be regarded as a significant pioneer venture. The reports promised for subsequent years will be awaited with interest.

WAYNE McMILLEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Public Relief, 1929-1939. By JOSEPHINE C. BROWN. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1940. Pp. 524. \$3.50.

The decade of the 1930's (from the great depression to the great war) was the most eventful decade in the history of public welfare in the United States. The developments of those ten years were thrilling, complex, and of momentous importance. Miss Brown is the first to record the history of the period as a whole.

To do this in a single volume was an ambitious undertaking. The material in the form of official reports, legislation, researches, and other literature in which the experience of the period has been recorded is vast indeed. The author had the advantage of the eyewitness and participant in much of the experience which she records. This of course is not an unmixed blessing for a historian, and critical readers probably will detect some bias, especially in the material on the F.E.R.A. On the whole, however, the work has peculiar value as the voice of experience. Miss Brown deserves and is receiving the gratitude of students, teachers, and administrators for this book.

The book is divided into four parts the first of which is "Public Relief before the Depression of 1929." Here is given the historical background of public relief with mention of the long history of the poor law, the use of new programs and new machinery, the beginnings of state and federal activity, the persistent opposition to public relief and the proof of public predominance in the relief field as finally revealed by comprehensive statistics in 1928 and 1929.

In the second part, titled "Unemployment Relief, 1929-1933," is told the dramatic story of rapid growth of unprecedented relief need and lagging provisions for meeting it. Here is the story of the valiant but inadequate efforts of the private agencies, the Costigan-LaFollette proposals, the unrealistic attitude of the Hoover administration, and finally the Emergency Relief and Construction Act providing relief loans to the states from the R.F.C.

Part III deals with the F.E.R.A. Miss Brown makes clear that, like the state E.R.A.'s, the F.E.R.A. saw its own function strictly in terms of a tem-

porary emergency. It regarded direct relief as inevitably demoralizing and constantly sought to develop work programs instead.

Help for the unemployed meant work; public works, if no private employment could be secured; work relief, if jobs on public works projects could not be provided fast enough or in large enough numbers. Direct relief was merely a temporary, emergency expedient. It was necessary to keep the unemployed from starving until work and wages in some form could be provided. The "dole," or direct relief, for the able-bodied unemployed was in disrepute, and it was discarded as quickly as possible. . . . Social workers . . . considered themselves partners with government in an enterprise which would lead to the development of a permanent program of social case work under public auspices. . . . They were bitterly disappointed and disillusioned when at the end of 1935 the program was liquidated and the responsibility for general relief returned to the states and localities. The disappointment was due, in part at least, to their misunderstanding of the objectives and philosophy of the Federal Administration. They had not realized the wide cleavage which existed between this Federal philosophy and their own hopes and ideals.

Social workers had no quarrel with the desire of the F.E.R.A. to provide work for the unemployed; every social worker worthy of the name would rather see a family have a job than a relief grant. Social workers realized very well what was the philosophy of the F.E.R.A. They also realized very well the degradation often suffered by those dependent upon local poor law relief. They were disappointed because a great humanitarian administration willingly withdrew its valuable influence and support from our basic public assistance program.

The reader may find himself wishing that Miss Brown had devoted an entire volume, instead of one hundred and fifty pages, to the F.E.R.A. A much fuller discussion of particular programs, such as the service for transients, and particular aspects of the F.E.R.A., such as the system of grants to the states, would be very valuable from one so well informed.

In the final part of the book, entitled "The Beginning of a Permanent Program: 1935-1939," the public assistance features of the Social Security Act are dealt with. The transitions of 1935 receive particular attention, and the complex picture of public assistance in the United States is reviewed.

The book includes a number of useful documents in the Appendix and an excellent selected Bibliography.

This reviewer regrets that the author did not use the term "public assistance" instead of lumping everything done in the last ten years under the old and opprobrious term of "relief."

FRANK Z. GLICK

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

The Family and Its Social Functions. By E. R. GROVES. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1940. Pp. 631. \$3.50.

Professor Groves has followed his *American Family* (1934), which "emphasized contemporary family problems in the United States, their causes and

the resources available for dealing with them," by this larger treatise, which is concerned with the social purpose of the family, using American family life only as a source for illustration. Like all of Professor Groves's discussions this is wise, learned, and full of kindly interest in the difficulties and perplexities of persons who are the victims of forces which they do not understand.

Like other publications this has as one object its possible use in high-school and college classes in sociology and home economics and is technically adapted for classroom use by its form of presentation—paragraph headings, summaries of chapters, finally suggested questions, and topics for special reports.

The range of authorities cited is very wide, and the primitive as well as the highly developed family groups are subjected to analysis and interpretations. Professor Groves shows his usual skill in phrasing the discussion of topics that have been taboo in terms clear and scientific but lacking all elements of the offensive. The subject is presented in twenty-one chapters from sociological, economic, and historic points of view. Constant reference is made to the most modern psychiatric discussion. It is interesting that slight if any allusion to the strange incongruities of the legal situation occurs. The extraordinary disregard by the courts of what the legislature tries to do with the institution of marriage is not mentioned, nor are the chaos and perjury characteristic of the divorce situation in which the bar connives and with which the church is compelled to compromise. Professor Groves refers to Professor Vernier's comprehensive treatment of the *Law of Family Relations* and recognizes in the most appreciative fashion the possible contribution of the social worker.

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Proceedings of the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare, 1940.
New York, 1940. Pp. 152. \$1.50.

The 1940 *Proceedings of the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare* reflects to some extent the pattern of a people that has faced persecution and discrimination for centuries but has not been destroyed. The conference met at a time when the impending collapse of the French Republic and the prospect of a Hitler victory stirred all democratic people and frightened many. It is, therefore, natural to find in the *Proceedings* discussions concerning the vital problems that were facing not only the Jews but our entire civilization at such a critical time. It is, however, of significance that the conference had the courage to take for granted the survival of European Jewry and to present five timely papers on the possible adjustment of Jews overseas and the role to be played by the Jews of America in the reconstruction that must take place. The writers of these papers devoted considerable thought to the subject of Jewish culture in an American democracy. Dr. Alexander M. Dushkin, in discussing one of the

papers, stated, "We are one American people with one culture, but the essence of that culture is that it welcomes and encourages cultural supplementation, provided it is intended to enrich the character and broaden the outlook of American citizens."

The papers that should be of interest to all social workers are: "A Program for American Democracy," by William H. Kilpatrick; "Brotherhood and American Democracy," by James Marshall; and "Observations on Problems of Jewish Readjustment Overseas," by Joseph C. Hyman. The last-mentioned paper contains an excellent analysis of the problems of minorities in Europe and their effect upon the Jews. Mr. Hyman's concrete suggestions for an approach to the solution of the problem should interest those who wish to see a just and lasting peace at the end of the present struggle.

Dr. M. J. Karpf's paper on the "Status of Case Work in the Jewish Community" is a challenge to the Jewish family agencies and should provoke considerable controversial discussion among Jewish case workers. Dr. Karpf stressed the importance of a cultural approach in case work by Jewish family agencies, if they are to regain their influence in the Jewish community. Though some of his criticisms of private agencies may be valid, they are too all inclusive and tend to overemphasize the negative factors. There is no evidence of appreciation of the readjustment these agencies have succeeded in making during the present period of transition. It is difficult to believe that Dr. Karpf would consider that it is in the interest either of the general or of the Jewish community, disregarding the financial limitations of the latter, for the Jewish family agencies "to protect the status of their families by refusing to subject them [Jewish clients] to the devastating experience of applying for and receiving assistance from some of the public relief agencies."

All the functional papers on family care, child care, vocational services, etc., and the discussions of these papers have been condensed to summary form. Most of these papers are valuable contributions to current thinking and practice in their respective fields, but the reader will find it difficult to appraise them adequately because of their condensed form.

LEON H. RICHMAN

JEWISH CHILDREN'S BUREAU, CHICAGO

Psychiatric Social Work. By LOIS MEREDITH FRENCH. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1940. Pp. xvi+344. \$2.25.

This book presents the results of a study of psychiatric social work undertaken by the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers to make available information concerning the field and function of this branch of the profession of social work. Confusion as to who is a psychiatric social worker now, when practically all trained social workers are oriented to some extent in psychiatry, as well as confusion as to what, strictly speaking, comprises this field

of service has been clarified. This meets a need on the part of social agency executives, case workers in general, professional schools, and even of psychiatric social workers themselves, who have not always been well oriented as to their professional identity. In the process of defining the field the author depicts its relationship to psychiatry, to other case-work fields, to the community, and to the broad field of social work.

The growth of psychiatric social work is traced from its early origins prior to its christening, when it was first recognized as a separate entity, through its early formative years within mental hospitals and psychiatric clinics. Its ventures into the world as it set forth through mental-hygiene programs to proclaim its worth and its subsequent wanderings; its bold, yes even presumptive, conquests and absorptions far from home are narrated and embellished with statistical tables, which chart its errant course. According to the study, many problems for this and other services were created through the wide wanderings afield of those trained in psychiatric social work. (1) The far-flung workers were inclined to regard themselves as once a psychiatric social worker always a psychiatric worker and, therefore, to assume that the work they were doing could still bear this name and essentially the same nature. Thus they tended to define the field of psychiatric social work in terms of their presence rather than in terms of the setting and its function, thus threatening to encompass many fields of social work. (2) This influenced certain agencies staffed largely with psychiatric social workers to become confused as to function and to claim a psychiatric identity for the entire service, thus perhaps serving less effectively than if the psychiatric orientation of the staff had been focused around and integrated into the agency's structure and function.

The early wanderers from the fold (the mental hospital and the psychiatric clinic) stimulated a large following. This study emphasizes that they were much wanted, needed, and appreciated elsewhere and so were loath to return to their birthplace or to linger in it for more than an early training period. It does not stress so much that perhaps they found what they needed elsewhere, the wealth of a richer case-work experience, the opportunity to supplement a somewhat limited social welfare education. (The early tendency in the training of psychiatric social workers was through a specialized curriculum. The present trend is toward a broad basic education in social welfare.) At any rate, drift away and stay away they have, so that one of the grave concerns of the American Psychiatric Association today is the difficulty in securing adequately trained psychiatric social workers to man clinic and mental-hospital staffs. This study reveals that throughout the years 1920-37 there has been, with some fluctuation, an increasing percentage of the membership of the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers employed in social agencies other than mental hospitals, mental-hygiene programs, and psychiatric clinics. In 1937 only 40 per cent were so employed, while the remainder were in practically all types of social agencies and in some educational institutions as administrators, consultants, supervisors, social-work instructors, and case workers. In addition, there has been a high

percentage of those persons trained in this field who have never entered it professionally. There have been stagnating reverberations of this in the Association, in which these people can qualify only for junior (nonactive) membership.

This study comments on many factors which have influenced the trend away from service in this field, but it seems to the reviewer that the more superficial factors have been stressed—such as prestige, less isolation, more interesting and comfortable living conditions, less pioneering, and more promising treatment outlook on the part of the patients or clients. And yet social workers, some of whom have specialized in psychiatric social work, are eagerly entering many of the public programs, including the old age assistance programs, which present many of the obstacles of the state mental-hospital programs. This study defines the field of psychiatric social work as one in which the social worker has a direct working relationship with a psychiatrist who is practicing psychiatry. Only this is psychiatric social work. When a social worker has specialized in psychiatric social work, she is no longer doing it by virtue of her training if she is employed in a nonclinical agency. By virtue of her training, however, she inevitably is interested in the kind of social case-work experience which enables her to use her psychiatric orientation to the greatest extent and to the greatest advantage. In many instances the mental hospital and the out-patient psychiatric clinic, other than the child guidance clinic, have not afforded this opportunity. An overcrowded mental hospital which offers little more than custodial care, the high-pressure out-patient service which does little more than paste diagnostic labels at a tempo and with methods which make those labels uncertain ones, is not practicing the kind of psychiatry in which a trained worker cares to participate. There is little incentive even to pioneer in this field, for social work cannot be in a position of leadership. Its development inevitably is subject to the leadership of another profession. Therefore, psychiatric social workers have preferred social agencies where they could use their orientation and where they could participate in leadership, valued perhaps not so much for "prestige" as for the possibility of securing the kind of conditions that make for effective service. Whether or not their work bears the distinguishing earmark "psychiatric social work" is immaterial, for what serious professional person would exchange the substance for the shadow?

In the chapter on "Professional Education" the author notes the tendency of the schools of social work not to use mental hospitals and some psychiatric clinics as much as they might and places the responsibility of stimulating the return of the psychiatric social worker to the fold primarily on the schools in which the educators, it is believed, could do more to encourage students to accept employment in this field. There are two prerequisites to the establishment of a training center in a psychiatric service as well as to a productive professional experience in this field: (1) a staff of psychiatrists engaged in the practice of psychiatry; (2) a social-work staff which has become an integral part of the service so that it participates in thinking and planning with regard to the patients from the time of admission through discharge and aftercare. A social-work staff which is used

only as psychiatrists see fit to use it and which has no opportunity to determine the contribution of its own profession offers a meager educational experience. Students emerge from such a setting trained neither in psychiatry nor in social work. The place of social service as an integral part of the clinical team has been the major appeal of the child-guidance clinic to schools for students and to workers seeking employment. When mental hospitals and psychiatric clinics offer these advantages and meet these requirements it is probable that a good number of the errant ones will find their way back to the old stamping grounds, first, because it will offer them a chance for meaningful service; second, because it will permit them to continue their professional education not as pseudo-psychiatrists or psychiatric aids but as social workers.

Of general interest is the employment record of this group, which shows a very high turnover. Comparison with rate in other fields would be interesting. If higher in psychiatric social work, one would wonder whether overspecialized preparation had been a factor as well as high demand throughout the field for persons with this orientation. The value of this book to workers in other fields would seem to be twofold. A social worker is an intelligent professional person in so far as he is well informed on services other than his own. Furthermore, the problems, trends, emphases in any one field of social work are not wholly unrelated to those in other fields. Therefore, clarification in one field may enlighten another. One of the outstanding contributions of this presentation is the clear analysis of the relationships between psychiatric social work and other fields.

The well-documented chapter entitled "Some Trends in Social Treatment" may interest case workers who want some definition of the place of the case worker in the treatment of emotional difficulties even though they do not find here a decisive answer. The portrayal of trends, of confusions, and of questions unanswered has certain orienting values, however. The discussion indicates that the psychiatric social worker is assuming ever larger responsibility in the treatment of emotional disturbances, the knowledge and skills for which presumably are derived in clinical field work and in subsequent work with psychiatrists. Her task as defined on page 241 assigns her essentially the same function as the psychiatrist. This raises the question as to where the psychiatric social worker is heading professionally. There is less emphasis on what she might bring from her own professional background to contribute to social treatment than on what she needs to learn in order to become a psychotherapist. There is little attempt to differentiate her function from that of the psychiatrist although there is some attempt to distinguish the nature of her psychotherapeutic endeavors from that of the psychiatrist. The discussion of professional education in relation to trends should be helpful to instructors in schools of social work and to students entering the profession who may be considering this particular preparation. Credit is due the author for her thoughtful analysis and a stimulating discussion of one service in relation to a complex professional field.

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Journal of Social Work Process, Vol. III, No. 1: *Social Case Work with Children: Studies in Structure and Process*. Edited by JESSIE TAFT. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania School of Social Work, 1940. \$1.00, paper; \$2.00, boards.

This number of the *Journal of Social Work Process* includes a collection of twelve papers dealing with social case work with children in various agency settings. As Dr. Taft points out, there is a decided lag in the development of case-work theory and practice in the field of child care. This is due in part to the wide range of child welfare services which are closely related to, and frequently overlap, other specialized fields, and to the inherent difficulty of describing technically the process and skill involved in its chief function, child placement. For these reasons the present volume is a most welcome contribution and will no doubt be widely read by workers in child-placing agencies; and it is hoped it will be followed by additional material from this as well as other sources where case-work procedures are consciously integrated with theory.

Although it includes contributions from the specialized fields of child guidance, the school, and medical social work, this number of the *Journal* is devoted chiefly to a clearer formulation and exposition of what is implied in the professionally conscious placement of the dependent child in a foster-home. All the papers are characterized by a central theme, which is "the kind and degree of responsibility that is to be assumed professionally and the relation of that responsibility to the growth process going on in the child himself, to the adults on whom he depends immediately, and to the community that supports him."

It is impossible to evaluate each paper within the limited space of this review, and specific comment will be made only of those two or three papers which in the opinion of this reviewer best serve as illustrations of the central theme and have the greatest potential value to case workers in the child-placing field. The paper entitled "The Interrelation of Parents and Agency in Child Placement" describes the process by which agency and parent assume joint responsibility in the placement of a child. This process upon which the intake interviews focus centers, on the one hand, upon the parent as he is emotionally involved in the asking and the taking of help and in the experience of giving his child psychologically as well as physically to the agency; and, on the other hand, upon the worker's evaluation as to whether the parents' need and request can be met by the agency. Basic to this procedure is the concept of the right of the individual to be self-determining, and as the process of placement is particularized and experienced by the parent, the worker is enabled to determine the extent of responsibility the agency can assume. The author recognizes that the relationship between the parent and the worker creates the medium through which the process of taking and giving help takes place and certain limitations are set to safeguard this relationship.

This paper provides a challenging interpretation of the philosophy and objectives of the intake interview in a child-placing agency. Since the application

of the theory is often difficult to envisage and, also, since case illustrations are frequently the most effective manner of demonstrating the application of a theory, it might have been very valuable to many readers to have had the author include this kind of material. The writer does not elaborate upon the application of the theory of self-determination to those parents who are so emotionally upset or who have so little ego development that it is with extreme difficulty that they can be self-determining in a responsible fashion or execute without assistance the procedures involved in an initial decision. Nor does she discuss those complications which may arise in the referral of parents to the agency by the juvenile court, which frequently represents a type of authority that cannot be ignored. These and other similar questions arise in the application of this manner of approach.

The paper "Helping the Very Young Child To Participate in Placement" includes some case illustrations and critical evaluation of this material which is most helpful in increasing the reader's understanding of the techniques used in this process. The paper is characterized by a keen sensitivity to the psychological reactions of the small child in the placement process and an awareness of the importance of consciously administered technical skills which can be utilized in a professionally responsible manner.

"The Prospective Foster Parent as Client" is an interpretation of the application of the principle that the purposes or function of the agency is the basic point around which the prospective foster-parent and the worker as the representative of the agency meet to determine jointly whether the use of the applicant's home for a child will meet the conditions set forth by the agency and the applicant's need for a child. This paper raises a number of questions, as for instance, what use, if any, is to be made of information regarding previous life experiences of the applicant? The chief value of this paper seems to lie in the generalized interpretation of a philosophy of case work, and its usefulness would have been greatly enhanced by a more detailed application of theory to specifics, including illustrative case material.

The papers vary in quality, there is considerable repetition of the central theme which does not necessarily serve to clarify the point of view held in common by all the writers, and there is a general use of a terminology which frequently is likely to be confusing. However, these critical comments do not in any way minimize the valuable contribution which this volume will make to the case workers in the field of child care.

LOIS WILDY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Introduction to Social Case Work. By JOSEPHINE STRODE. New York: Harper & Bros., 1940. Pp. 214. \$2.50.

Miss Strode claims for her *Introduction to Social Case Work* four main purposes. The book was prepared as a textbook

to meet the needs of instructors of undergraduate courses in social casework, and of supervisors of staff development programs in public and private agencies. It is designed likewise to afford subject matter for individual and group study by social workers who wish to increase their understanding of social casework and prepare for civil service promotional examinations. It is believed that committees of examiners also will find the book helpful in the preparation of questions for civil service tests.

In Part I, "Historical Perspectives," tightly organized paragraphs hint at social, economic, and legal backgrounds of social work, facts and figures of our past and present public welfare programs—federal, state, and local—plus the social and economic needs they are designed to meet. This is a very large order. Part III, "Areas of Service," races through equally compact chapters indicating briefly the location and nature of problems in which skills in case work are required. An effort is made to indicate the extent and nature of the problems in unemployment, child welfare, youth adjustment, old age assistance, aid to the blind, vocational rehabilitation, public health, and medical care. A few hasty admonitions to individualize the approach to clients whose problems lie in one or more of these areas are repeated, since the work is addressed to social case workers. Again, this is a large order.

These two sections of the text suggest that the book might better be recognized at the outset as a syllabus for a more general course—such as "An Introduction to the Field of Social Work"—instead of a course in social case work. Nor does this conception change as one analyzes Part II, which is devoted to "an analysis of social casework principle and practise" (Pref., p. vii). Because of her distrust of the "careless use of the term treatment [and presumably 'diagnosis'] in social casework," the author addresses herself primarily to the elements included in her working definition, namely, the "use of (1) the social case study, (2) social resources, and (3) knowledge from related fields of learning." Of these, the social case study and its recording appear most clearly. In fact, this one process of social case work stands out so far beyond the treatment aspects, what with its history, purpose, sources of information, and all the minutiae of verification and recording, that an inexperienced student might well come away with the conviction that this is the whole aim of social work.

To be sure, there is mention of the use of social resources to aid the client, but half of this relates to social study again and half to the community organization aspects of the rural worker's job in acquiring new resources for her community. In all fairness it must be noted there are statements designed to suggest the proper attitude of approach to the client such as: "There is seldom need for a caseworker to be anything but sincere, honest, and straightforward with a client" (p. 91), or: "Desirable objectivity and impartiality can be attained by the caseworker more surely through the understanding of her own mental and emotional processes which the developments in psychology have made possible than through weighing the opinions of many relatives and neighbors" (p. 90), or: "... There is danger that caseworkers may follow up areas of information in

line with personal bias or preconceived ideas about causes of maladjustment" (p. 92).

What real meaning to actual practice of potential social case workers such statements may have is extremely doubtful. It is one thing to be told to be objective, impartial, free from prejudice; it is quite another matter to achieve these qualities. To exhort the worker to understand her own mental and emotional processes is all very well if there is some basis upon which she can carry out such a difficult and painful task. We find no indication in the book as to how this can be achieved.

Appreciating the fact that many workers are called upon to serve as social caseworkers without any recognized graduate training, Miss Strode has attempted to arm them with some awareness of what they need—all in the space of 214 pages. The result is a skeleton outline which can be only a beginning. No doubt in the classroom use of this book, the author does emphasize the fact that any survey course has severe limitations and that there cannot be a short cut to professional training. It is a serious omission that no such warning is included in the written text. This is even more true for the group of social workers seeking to "prepare for civil service promotional examinations." Wide supplementation of each point included in the book should be urged lest some worker conclude that here is a "cram encyclopaedia," learn the fragmentary answers to the lists of questions appended at the end of each chapter, and call it preparation for qualifying examinations.

As for the "individual and group study by social workers who wish to increase their understanding of social casework" and the "supervisors of staff development programs in public and private agencies," they will undoubtedly recognize the need for much more complete treatment of each subject than is afforded in the *Introduction to Social Case Work*.

ELEANOR G. CRANEFIELD

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

A Review of the Psychoneuroses at Stockbridge. By GAYLORD P. COON, M.D., and ALICE F. RAYMOND, A.B. Stockbridge, Mass.: Austen Riggs Foundation, Inc., 1940. Pp. xii+299. \$2.00.

This study is concerned with a review of the clinical work of a twenty-five-year period (1910-34) at the Austen Riggs Foundation, Incorporated, Stockbridge, Massachusetts. It endeavors to analyze the method of therapy employed and the results obtained in the treatment of a sample group of psychoneurotic patients. Of the 5,300 patients treated during this period, 1,066 cases are included in this study, and these were selected on the basis that the records were relatively rich in detail with follow-up information available in more than half the cases. Both the method of individual case study and the statistical approach were used.

The content of Part I should be of particular interest to social case workers. The descriptive definitions of the psychoneuroses in chapter ii, the description of methodology of treatment in chapter iii, and the discussion of the beneficial aspects of treatment together with the clinical material presented in chapters iv and v are interesting for comparative thinking. While the setting is quite different from that in which the social case worker functions, and the patient group different in terms of socioeconomic background, still certain basic principles and practices in relation to certain fundamental human needs make for common ground. For example, the discussion of the values of insight, the concept of psychotherapy as a self-active process on the part of the patient, the use of supportive measures, the role of suggestion, and the significance of the emotional relationship between patient and physician are all of interest to the case worker, who although he is not, strictly speaking a psychotherapist, nevertheless endeavors to help people modify feelings, attitudes, and ways of responding. In this setting some of the practical measures used by the physician are in contrast to the methods of the psychoanalyst, by whom social workers have in recent years been greatly influenced. Today when the case worker is seeking to find a modern use for older treatment methods some of her vestigial ways may take on new meaning from the brief but highly suggestive comments in these chapters. One can only regret that this discussion of treatment is so fragmentary and that the theory has not been tied into the clinical material so that the reader may understand the practical applications of the re-educational approach described in chapter iv and in Appendix A.

In the appendixes the descriptive definition of the clinical team which includes the patient as the primary member and the statement as to ways of working are significant in relation to the social case worker's thinking as to the necessity for clarifying agency function and the client's relationship to the agency. It is not clear whether the pamphlet describing this, which is given to the patient, terminates the clarification process or whether the content is talked through with the patient, which would seem essential if it is to accomplish its purpose. The discussion entitled "Talks to Patients" will be of greater interest to psychiatrists for comparison of psychotherapeutic techniques than to social workers. In the re-educational process described it is not clear just how the printed material is used to supplement the personal conference, but it is assumed that this material must be given meaning through the individual therapist, otherwise it well might become an empty superstructure.

A study of this sort which analyzes therapeutic method, evaluates results, and shares one group's philosophy and techniques with other groups engaged in similar work inevitably makes an invaluable contribution.

C. T.

Criminal Behavior. By WALTER C. RECKLESS. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1940. Pp. xi+532. \$3.75.

This publication is a sociological work on the nature, prevention, and treatment of crime. Its thesis is that a "comparative science" of criminology can be developed by perfecting (1) standardized categories of criminal behavior and (2) predictive classifications of liability to crime, based on statistical analysis. The author states: "... criminological study by statistical and observational methods would conform to something akin to the astronomical approach to the study of heavenly bodies, whose behavior in time and space can be accurately plotted and predicted but whose reason for existence can only be guessed at" (p. 256). Analysis of causes, hypotheses, and generalizations would not be utilized in the proposed mechanical approach. The case worker would be replaced by the "sociologist-actuary." The case history, "a hodgepodge of unstandardized and uncomparable findings," would give way to the rating scale, described as "... in reality a form of sociometric or sociological actuarial work, comparable in fundamentals to actuarial predictions of life insurance which assay the risk before issuing the policy" (p. 393).

The center of the proposed practice is the disposition of individual delinquents by the application of predictive rates. Case work and group work are questioned as "economically infeasible" and would be applied only as specific methods had been validated by statistical analysis. The author hints that persons supposedly assisted by case work would have been just as successful "going it alone." Further, he minimizes case work with delinquent children and apparently would extend the rating scales to juvenile courts and child-guidance clinics. His general attitude toward the value of professionally trained social workers is indicated in the following comment: "From the standpoint of economy and effectiveness, it may be wise to encourage greater use of leaders and workers who are not highly trained but who have a knack or a way with children" (p. 437).

Adverse criticism of research guided by case work judgments is exemplified by the comment on the United States Children's Bureau survey of juvenile delinquents (Bulls. 228, 230): "Those who have worked with rating scales to measure a qualitative (unquantified) variable know that the rating method herein used is perhaps the crudest that could be used, and that the results of the ratings are quite unreliable" (p. 379). The author does regard the judgments as "interesting," since they "tend to reflect middle-class norms of American social work and reform"!

Social workers will point out that while the numerical analysis of isolated traits can be suggestive, if properly qualified, they cannot validly be combined into ratios and applied to individuals. Narrow technique should not be the mentor of scientific endeavor, and the statics of life tables and fixed astronomical orbits are not similar to the dynamics of human behavior. Social workers will also maintain that creative research and practice in the field of social

treatment is far wider than the method of statistics and that the most significant unit in both processes is the single person in his situation.

The twenty-two chapters of the book cover an extensive compilation of research that has been carried on in the field of delinquency, including projects both supporting and contrary to the author's thesis. This research is interpreted throughout from the standpoint of the author's "comparative" approach and therefore can be of aid to social workers only if used with considerable discrimination. The book will be of interest to social workers mainly in revealing the divergence in viewpoint between sociology and social work on the treatment of crime.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

HOWELL WILLIAMS

Police Systems in the United States. By BRUCE SMITH. New York: Harper & Bros., 1940. Pp. xx+384. \$4.00.

This is a comprehensive, descriptive, and critical treatment of a ramified subject by an authority in the field. It provides a general review of police resources in the United States as well as basic data and sound reasoning to an understanding of police systems. Broad generalizations are made and suggestions outlined for a solution of the manifold problems present. Raymond B. Fosdick, whose own pertinent writings are well recognized, contributes a Foreword.

The author points out that the American police service has had a disorderly, uneven growth accompanied by political domination and corruption. While recognizing that these influences contribute to a higher crime rate, he also observes that the problem has been with us "long before 'crime waves' were discovered and exploited by a yellow press."

Much of the confusion in the police area arises from the superimposing of newly created agencies of law enforcement on inefficient older ones, with the result that their very number now interferes with the development of established procedures and standards. There are some 40,000 separate public police agencies in the United States, mostly one-, two-, or three-men part-time forces. Some of these, such as the office of sheriff, are a throwback to ancient history, while that of the constable was abolished in England nearly a century ago.

Mr. Smith sees a need for federal and state police and for local forces in the larger cities, as the three major necessary levels of activity. The former two are noted as being generally free from political manipulation. Police relationships are pointed out as complex partly because of the complexity of governmental interrelationships and the fact that police systems have been a typical feature of local autonomy.

Effective police work should be judged by the performance of its representatives rather than by any impressive collection of mechanical gadgets. Although the police have consistently enjoyed substantial increases in pay scales, results

to which the public are entitled have not been achieved. A distrust by the public, almost ingrained in makeup, is founded in large measure on abuses of the lawless enforcement of the law by the police, the most damning and prevalent of which is the use of the third degree. Two remedies to the problem are suggested: cancellation of the probative value of confessions made to the police and arraignment of the accused immediately on apprehension. Although such steps might result in a failure of prosecution in some cases, they would be compensated for in a changed attitude on the part of the public as represented in jury decisions. Mr. Smith concludes on the note that continued self-criticism and improvement under the stimulus of disapproval of failure is indicative of a hopeful trend and that perhaps some day we may have a police system that will be "vigorous without being oppressive, and scrupulous in its observance of civil rights without losing its effectiveness in law enforcement."

This volume should interest those who are concerned with the broad question of public welfare while several chapters may be of particular value to specialists.

JOSEPH A. SHELLY

OSBORNE ASSOCIATION, INC.
NEW YORK, N.Y.

Handbook of American Institutions for Delinquent Juveniles, Vol. III: *Pacific Coast States*. Edited by WILLIAM B. COX and JOSEPH A. SHELLY. 1st ed. New York: Osborne Association, Inc., 1940. Pp. viii+417. \$1.25.

The Osborne Association is making steady and encouraging progress with its survey of the country's 109 state and federal institutions for juvenile delinquents. More than two dozen middle western, southern, and far western schools have been visited, studied, and reported upon thus far in the survey, which has covered approximately three years. Volume I of the reports, describing the institutions of seven west north central states, was published late in 1938. Volume II, dealing with the training schools of Kentucky and Tennessee, was released early in 1940. The third and present volume was prepared by the Association's executive secretary and its field and research secretary, who conducted this portion of the study. The seven Pacific Coast state institutions visited include three in California (Preston School of Industry, at Waterman; Ventura School for Girls, at Ventura; and Whittier State School, at Whittier); two in Oregon (State Industrial School for Girls, at Salem; and Oregon State Training School for Boys, at Woodburn); and two in Washington (State School for Girls, at Centralia; and State Training School for Boys, at Chehalis).

The realist recognizes that institutional care will continue to be indicated for the treatment of certain delinquent children and hopes to see it function as adequately as human skill, interest, and resources will permit. Remembering the depressing and disheartening over-all picture gained from the disclosures of the

first two volumes, he is somewhat encouraged, though certainly not comfortably satisfied, with the situation on the Pacific Coast. Two institutions, the Washington State School for Girls and the Preston School of Industry, in California, were found to be outstanding in many respects. Three others, while decidedly less satisfactory, had constructive aspects in varying degree and number. Two schools merited little in the way of favorable comment. In the tempered words of the writers:

The institutions of this area considered as a group with two notable exceptions, have failed to fulfill their requirements as outlined by law or to achieve acceptable professional and humane standards. Yet the conclusion is inescapable that, by and large, these training schools could be developed for more effective functioning with little effort compared with the steps necessary to achieve desirable standards at some of the institutions already surveyed by the Osborne Association in the West North Central States and those of Kentucky and Tennessee.

Three days were spent at each school. As in previous volumes the reports of individual institutions set forth detailed information relative to history and legal provisions, administration, personnel, grounds and buildings, housing and home life, food and clothing, reception and classification, education, library facilities, student self-government, recreation and community life, maintenance and other employment activities, medical and dental care, psychiatric and psychological services, social service, discipline, religious activities, release procedures, and fiscal matters. Frank evaluative comment follows, and the response of institutional officials, to whom the reports of their own schools were submitted, is included. As a group, with some exceptions, the institutions seemed reasonably adequate in their provision of essential physical equipment. Educational and recreational programs ranged from the broad, inclusive, and individualized to the narrow and stereotyped. The constructive, imaginative discipline used in some schools was in complete contrast to the repressive, punitive atmosphere surrounding one or two others. One again reads the too familiar story of meager psychological, psychiatric, and social services, despite the accepted fact that the boys and girls received for treatment offer a challenge to the highest professional skills. A number of the superintendents seemed qualified for their work, genuinely interested in it, and worthy of the confidence of the children and their communities. The better institutions clearly reflected the high standards and ideals of their leadership, as well as its unremitting and intelligent efforts to effect fundamental improvements in program and equipment.

The material is organized to permit easy reference, enhancing its value to the student. Notwithstanding the defensive criticisms leveled against the objectives and methods of the study and report by two officials whose institutions drew unfavorable evaluations, the facts appear to have been objectively gathered, impartially presented, and fairly interpreted.

RICHARD EDDY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Prison Administration—an Educational Process: Second Yearbook of the Committee on Education of the American Prison Association. New York, 1940. Pp. 281. \$1.00.

The second *Yearbook* of the Committee on Education of the American Prison Association is in the direction of fulfilling the hopes of those who look forward to the publication each year of an additional volume concerned with some specific aspect of correctional education. The first *Yearbook*¹ described in detail the several components of a good educational program. Without in any way de-emphasizing the need for adequately established physical facilities, the second *Yearbook* presents ways and means of capitalizing on opportunities inherent in the functioning of the institution itself. This theme, stressing personnel and program rather than costly prison plants, is socially sound as well as economically timely. The concentration of rebuilding efforts on those in need of specialized care will always be more profitable to the national well-being than the building of bastilles.

The book is divided into three parts: the first indicates methods of surveying and organizing existing facilities; the second, contributed by a group of wardens, cites several examples of reclamation through vocational reorientation; while the third part is a compilation of reports by educational directors and teachers on procedures in evolving various kinds of programs. The material is practical in content and presentation and suggests a number of educational possibilities for progressive administrative adoption.

Any program, in the last analysis, is vitally affected by the attitude of the management and staff and the quality of personnel at the helm. A well-organized program results in improved attitudes, responses, and skills, and contributes to the morale of the institution. The value of wide-awake managerial imagination in utilizing dormant facilities and the importance of enlightening traditional-thinking staff members to changing ideas are clearly implied throughout the volume. Stated more definitely is the point that to a large extent education is meaningless unless the institution experience and parole are soundly integrated and release gauged according to favorable adjustment instead of by the irrelevance of legalistic legerdemain.

A need exists, as the first part of the book points out, for intelligent follow-up between the institution and the supervising authorities so that a redirection or expansion may be made in the program on the basis of post-institutional adjustments. To be successful, vocational opportunities must project beyond the immediacy of the present in order to assist in meeting the man's future requirements. It is worth nothing that of the successes mentioned by the wardens several illustrate too frequently the factor of chance in the finding of a trade. One sees here the implication that, with a comprehensive classification system and an adequately directed and persistently pursued individualized approach,

¹ See *Social Service Review*, XIV (December, 1940), 782.

fundamental problems involved may be fathomed more quickly and systematically and affect the adjustment of the many rather than the few.

This volume should have a wide institution audience as it fills a real gap in the field of its coverage. Walter M. Wallack is the editor, and the Editorial Committee includes Austin H. MacCormick and Sanford Bates. Funds for the publication have been made available by the Commission on Education in Correctional Institutions in the State of New York.

JOSEPH A. SHELLY

OSBORNE ASSOCIATION, INC.
NEW YORK, N.Y.

Intelligence and Crime: A Study of Penitentiary and Reformatory Offenders.

By SIMON H. TULCHIN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939.
Pp. ix+166. \$2.00.

If writers about crime used aliases as freely as criminals do, one might suppose that this book was written by Nathaniel Hawthorne. It is in direct descent from *Twice Told Tales*, though its genesis is lost in the mysteries of statistical study rather than in the mists of pagan folklore. It elaborately proves that criminologists must look to other factors than differences in intelligence for an explanation of crime—a thing that fewer criminologists than often supposed have ever believed and that no intelligent criminologist has believed since results of the tests given to the Army during the World War first began to reach the public.

The studies here reported were made in three Illinois penal institutions between 1920 and 1927, which makes the book an interesting museum piece; it is a monograph of the Behavior Research Fund. An important question seems to emerge: Why must those who favor a sociological explanation of crime continue to spend so much time disproving things that psychologists have long known to be untrue? Criminologists with a psychological bias have caught up with the sociologists. Synthetic and rounded explanations of crime, so badly needed, will be held back if the sociologists cannot catch up with the psychological criminologists.

WINTHROP D. LANE

BALTIMORE, MD.

Industrial Homework. By RUTH ENALDA SHALLCROSS. New York: Industrial Affairs Publishing Co., 1939. Pp. 257. \$2.75.

Arguments as well as events have their appointed cycles. In the year 1900 if a book entitled *Industrial Homework* could conceivably have been written, the burden of proof would have lain with the opponents of a system, which at the time was accepted with the same resigned inevitability that death and the weather were. Industrial homework at the turn of the century was respectable,

if not respected. Today child labor, the exploitation of women, and the sweated industries are deprecated, even by the general public. On questions of social and economic legislation the rank and file now stand where the vanguard stood two generations ago.

It is a matter of surprise, therefore, when one of our contemporaries devotes a volume of two hundred pages to the championing of industrial homework. In matters of pure research Dr. Shallcross' book is painstaking, but in the fields of economics and applied logic she seems to forget that she is living, not in 1900, as some of her statements would seem to imply, but in 1940.

The burden of proof is with Miss Shallcross, who accepts as the norm for her carefully accumulated figures the abnormal, not the normal, worker. The author excuses her extraordinary method of arriving at what is typical by saying that typical cases rarely exist in homework. This sounds impressive, but exactly what does it mean? Pleading the cause of the old and unfit or of part-time workers who "fill in" with homework, Miss Shallcross even goes so far as to say that those who advocate the abolition of homework are "deliberately swelling the ranks of the unemployed." In the face of general unemployment conditions today such an attitude seems excessive. So long as there is unemployment, why not unemployment of the unfit rather than of the fit? Miss Shallcross seems to overlook the fact that if average, normal workers could only obtain jobs at reasonable pay, they would manage to support a large number of the misfits.

Homework legislation, even on the subject of child labor, she believes is unfair. "To eliminate all homework because some children laboring in it cannot be controlled is tantamount to saying that since child labor in agriculture cannot be controlled, all agriculture should be abolished. In so far as child labor is due to poverty and parental attitudes toward children, it might be better prevented by a social agency than by the coercive power of the state, depriving poverty-stricken parents of remunerative home employment."

There are many errors of logic in this one paragraph. In the first place, the comparison between child labor in agriculture and child labor in the occupations which employ homework is a false analogy. Agriculture is a natural and primary occupation—homework is secondary and derived. You cannot abolish a primary occupation. You can abolish a derived one. To compare the two is like adding apples and oranges and calling the product apples.

Apropos of wages and hours Miss Shallcross takes umbrage at a statement of the Children's Bureau, "There seems to be little reason why a group of workers should be obliged to carry a large part of the overhead expenses of the manufacturer, supplying housing, heating, lighting, equipment, and frequently machinery." She attempts to refute this argument by saying that if homework employers really had such a competitive advantage over factory employers it would follow that they would be more prosperous than they are and that investors would seek to place their money with them rather than with factory employers. In the next breath she argues that factory employers have the competitive advantage of a higher productivity from the workers, and in the next that if "all

homework should be eliminated and homeworkers forced into the already glutted factory labor market, the competition of the new labor supply might have the disastrous effect of further reducing all factory wages in competitive types of work."

Industrial Homework was already published when the September, 1940, report of the International Association of Labor Officials was issued. This report seems to prove the above statement to have been without foundation. According to its findings, "The experience of New York in connection with the control of homework in the artificial flower and feather industries is particularly significant. An increase of a thousand women in the artificial flower factories in New York City last spring was due to the restriction of homework. More than 80 per cent of the employers found that they could take care of these extra workers without enlarging space. . . . Workers benefitted because of shorter hours, better wages and better working conditions."

The workers do not want homework abolished. In the last analysis this is Miss Shallcross's trump card, her one consistently reiterated argument. Neither did the workers want machinery and industrialization. They broke the first printing presses and power looms. They demanded their right to work in exactly the same manner as they and their forefathers always had worked in the past.

Miss Shallcross is apparently an idealist, but idealism needs to be rooted in hard logic. Because her book is deficient in that respect it fails to make its point. The burden of proof is still with Miss Shallcross.

KATE CLUGSTON

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

Housing for Defense: A Review of the Role of Housing in Relation to America's Defense and a Program for Action; Factual Findings, by MILES L. COLEMAN; *The Program*, by the HOUSING COMMITTEE, TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1940. Pp. xx+178. \$1.50.

"Adequate housing for workers in defense industries is essential to a program of national defense. It should be treated as such both in planning and in action." This is the general conclusion of the Twentieth Century Fund's most recent study, *Housing for Defense*. The Housing Survey Committee of the Fund, under the direction of Miles L. Coleman, evaluates the experience of the United States during the World War of twenty years ago with special reference to housing—the failure early to recognize the close correlation between housing and national preparedness and the resultant slow emergence of a housing program. The role played by the government at that time in a delayed effort to co-ordinate industry and housing is described, and the reader is brought up to date with regard to the various governmental agencies which today attempt solution of the national housing problem through loans, subsidies, and less direct channels, such as public guaranties and control.

Factual data which both citizens and public officials will find extremely useful are provided. These include information on the existing shortage and the increased needs due to new concentrations of defense industries. The study clearly indicates that in addition to its present shocking lack of healthful, safe, and sanitary homes for American wage workers, the country is on the eve of a housing emergency which will make heavy demands on our national resources, capital, labor supply, and technical ability.

To cope with the situation the Fund recommends that housing "be considered as an integral part of defense activity," that there be no delay in the defense housing program, and that there be developed "the most effective means of meeting emergency housing needs wherever and however they occur." Those proponents of slum clearance and low-rent housing who have long recognized the necessity for public housing as the only present means of meeting the needs of families in the lower-economic categories will be disappointed in the failure of the study to accent the urgent necessity for projects built by local housing authorities, with the aid of public loans and subsidies, in every section of the country. As was true twenty years ago, there is too much wishful thinking that the job of defense housing can be left to private enterprise.

The Twentieth Century Fund's assertion that in a typical group of defense industries 30 per cent of the workers will average \$20 a week in wages would seem to give evidence that private industry cannot decently house the families of such workers at this critical period, when it never before has been able to do so even in normal times. Approximately 500 municipal housing authorities have been created, a large number of which have demonstrated their ability to develop large-scale projects efficiently and speedily. It is unfortunate that in *Housing for Defense* these agencies' preparedness for action is underestimated.

HELEN ALFRED

NATIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING CONFERENCE
NEW YORK CITY

A Survey of the Social Services in the Oxford District, Vol. II: *Local Administration in a Changing Area*. Oxford University Press, 1940. Pp. xi + 494. \$6.00.

The Survey Committee of Barnett House, Oxford, has completed the second in its series of three studies of the administration of the social services, both public and private, in the Oxford district. The first volume, published in 1938, *The Economics and Government of a Changing Area*, gave a picture of the "economic tendencies" of the district and of the existing administrative structure.¹ The present volume describes in detail the operations of the individual social services, while a third, which will review the significance of the preceding studies as a whole, is promised.

¹ See this *Review*, XIV (1940), 177.

Along with these services which we usually think of as "social services" there has been included here some others which we ordinarily do not consider as such, e.g., electrical supply, sewage, water supply, transportation, and a survey of the organization and administration of the schools, both public and private.

The adaptation of the old poor law institutions to modern needs has been a particularly difficult problem.

The workhouse test of the nineteenth century has now been abandoned in the administration of poor relief, and the relieving authorities no longer use institutional relief as a means of deterring the able-bodied from becoming pensioners of the State. Entry into a public assistance institution may still be made a condition of relief, but since it is cheaper to give out-relief, there is now no incentive, other than the welfare of the person concerned, for imposing this condition. The policy of deterrence has, however, left a burdensome legacy in the unwieldy institutions which hamper attempts at reforming institutional relief.

With the exception of the "casuals" who may be accommodated for two consecutive nights only, those who are now housed in public assistance institutions are the old, the infirm, and the children, none of which can be properly cared for in these old barracks. This same problem is one to which American social workers have been giving some thought; for although we had no 1834 "principles" to outgrow, we did have Josiah Quincy, and J. V. N. Yates, whose enthusiastic indorsement of the almshouse assured the popularity of that institution with American poor relief authorities for the next one hundred years. Now with something better for most of the former inmates, these cheerless and impractical institutions should come down or be converted into modern infirmaries.

Parts II, III, and IV, which deal respectively with "The Relief of Distress," "Personal Health Services," and "Environmental Health Services," should be of special interest to those readers already familiar with the P.E.P. surveys (*The British Social Services* and *The British Health Services*), since it is possible to compare the general statement of the nature and extent of these services with the variations which come as a result of local administrative practice and the effects of voluntary provision.

JAMES BROWN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire. By T. F. REDDAWAY. London: Jonathan Cape, 1940. Pp. 333. 18s.

London Revived: Consideration for Its Rebuilding in 1666. By JOHN EVELYN. Edited by E. S. DE BEER. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938. Pp. 61. 5s.

The devastating fire of January, 1666, which destroyed so much of the old "City of London" gives a melancholy interest to these accounts of the rebuilding of London after the Great Fire of London, nearly three centuries ago.

Mr. Reddaway's impressive volume throws new light on the much-debated

question of the rebuilding of London after the Fire of 1666—beginning with an account of the way the fire started and the attempts to check its spread, and the difficulties that had to be overcome before rebuilding was possible.

The important questions of the new legislation that was necessary to meet with the various legal difficulties and relations of landlord and tenant; the financial problems of finding funds for the rebuilding of the thousands of burnt houses; for the streets, paving, sewers; and the rebuilding of the hospitals are a few of the subjects discussed in Mr. Reddaway's important, interesting, and timely book. For social workers there is a picture of the poor of that day—camped in tents and in the most miserable of temporary shacks without fuel.

Mr. de Beer tells us that in 1666 "before the embers had had time to cool," plans and projects for rebuilding the city's devastated area were being presented to the authorities by John Evelyn and Christopher Wren, who hoped to see a new and beautiful London in place of the old city of wooden houses "artificially congested."

Evelyn's early plan for rebuilding the city has been edited by Mr. de Beer from a treasured draft in the Guildhall Library. Was it destroyed, one wonders, when the recent incendiary bombs fell on this historic building? When the rebuilding plans of the twentieth century come to be carried out, will they suffer the fate of Wren's and Evelyn's in an earlier century? Mr. de Beer writes:

The various projects for the creation of a model city came to nothing. On the one hand there was the necessity of rebuilding the city as rapidly as possible; the projects would have required innumerable transfers of property, which could not have been carried out without unendurable delay; on the other hand the fire had everywhere spared foundations and cellars, occasionally walls; the projects would have involved the destruction of these and so increased the loss. Already on 13 September 1666 it was decided that every one should be allowed to rebuild on the sites which they had occupied, subject to approval. But the new buildings were to be of brick or stone (rules for the height of the stories were afterwards enacted); a certain amount of street-widening was to be carried out.

E. A.

The American and His Food. By RICHARD OSBORN CUMMINGS. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940. Pp. 267. \$2.50.

This history of food habits in the United States from the latter part of the eighteenth century to the present time relates the effect which developments in transportation, refrigeration, sanitation, scientific knowledge of nutrition, and social and economic trends have had upon diets of farm and city groups and on the general physical condition of the people. The documentation indicates a thorough preparation of the text, and the Bibliography alone furnishes a valuable list of source materials from many fields.

Of special merit are the chapters on "Health by Rail" and "The Fight against Germs," which show not only the effect which progress in transportation and sanitation have had upon food habits but also the concomitant problems, the

solution of which called for regulation and legislation. The growth in milling and refining industries and its effect upon the taste and food standards of the population are described in a section called "An Indefinable Loss." The chapter on "The Concept of Scientific Eating" relates how some of the now well-established facts struggled for recognition and failed before the importance of minerals and the existence of vitamins were appreciated. The historian has succeeded in clearly silhouetting the almost incredible advances made in the last half-century in our knowledge of food and nutrition.

Tables given in the Appendix show trends in the per capita consumption of several principal foods from 1830 to 1940. Of much interest also are some weekly budgets for families from 1833 to 1930, tables indicating the share of income devoted to food at different economic levels in different decades, and records of the food expenditures of two professional families—one in 1816-17 and one for 1926-27. The information is of necessity "spotty" because of the scattered and varied sources of information.

It is not surprising that the best portion of the book is that which deals with the food situations before 1930. Those facts are more clearly crystallized, while the very recency of progress in nutrition and governmental direction of food supplies in the last decade makes the description and evaluation which the author attempts difficult. But the record arouses no nostalgia for the good old days, despite our dissatisfactions with the present.

The author is a historian and not a nutritionist, and he excels in so far as he confines himself to facts gleaned from historical documents. When he digresses to interpolate or to discuss implications in the nutrition field his statements are occasionally open to criticism. Both professional and nonprofessional readers will welcome this book, because it has covered carefully and in an interesting style an important phase in the field of foods and nutrition.

HAZEL K. STIEBELING

BUREAU OF HOME ECONOMICS
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

American Social Problems: An Introduction to the Study of the People and Their Dilemmas. By HOWARD W. ODUM. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1939. Pp. vii + 549. \$3.00.

American Social Problems is a challenging, thought-provoking volume by one of the South's outstanding students of society. Having given a broad definition to the phrase "social problems," the author describes in Book I the contemporary scene against the background of America's geography and culture. Dr. Odum is not a believer in geographic determinism but recognizes that factors such as climate and natural resources set the stage for, and have contributed decisively to, the shaping of America's destiny. He departs from the approach of most students of social problems by placing special emphasis on the study of *the people* in

the sense that "... the key to all our social problems will be found ultimately somewhere among the people in their multiple behavior situations." Problems pertaining to children, women, and races are analyzed as phases of population problems rather than as abstract problems or problems of social institutions. The author develops this thesis in Part IV to the conclusion that America's salvation lies in social planning based on the capacities of the people, not in placing reliance on the planless growth of the past.

In the suggestions for study and teaching the author states uncompromisingly that it is necessary that the student "learn to read both widely and critically." The average college student of today all too often never develops this critical faculty. As further aid, Dr. Odum proceeds to "catalogue the major problems of contemporary American society" correlating each section with one of his chapters. The four features of each chapter are indicated as follows: (1) the differences between the various approaches to the problem indicated as "scientific" or "ameliorative"; (2) questions based on special references such as *Recent Social Trends*, to which reference is made throughout the volume; (3) a selective bibliography emphasizing the newer approaches to the various problems; and (4) the sources of the quotations used in each chapter.

Dr. Odum makes a distinctive contribution to the literature in this field. The readable style will appeal to a large audience, and without weighing down his discussion with statistics the author adheres to his injunction that understanding must be based on facts. His own scholarship makes possible the nice balance which he maintains on controversial questions such as that pertaining to racial inferiority. The careful reader will anticipate the early completion of the companion volume on a "living sociology."

ELINOR NIMS BRINK

GEORGIA STATE WOMANS COLLEGE
VALDOSTA

BRIEF NOTICES

Children of Bondage: The Personality Development of Negro Youth in the Urban South. By ALLISON DAVIS and JOHN DOLLARD. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1940. Pp. 294. \$2.25.

What does it mean to be born a Negro? How does the growing personality of Negro youth react to the impact of "those rewards and punishments, those incentives and taboos" which make up the variable demands by means of which family, clique, and class sanctions define success and failure for the individual and to the limitations imposed upon his economic and social achievements by his lower-caste position? The authors of this remarkable study have attempted to analyze these vital problems with the most recent techniques which have been developed by social anthropology and social psychology.

The life-histories of eight Negro adolescents between the ages of twelve and sixteen

who live in New Orleans and Natchez, Mississippi, are presented in an effort to analyze not only the effect of the caste system but also to show how the social role and the attitudes of the individual are affected by the class and clique into which he is born. These cases were selected from thirty histories obtained through weekly interviews over a period of from four to seven months and represent each of the social classes in Negro society.

Besides these life-histories, the book contains a detailed description of the methods used by the authors and their theoretical conclusions regarding caste, social classes, child training, and school learning.

This volume was prepared under the direction of the American Youth Commission, which was established by the American Council on Education in 1935 to conduct investigations of the problems of American youth, and is one of a series of studies attempting to determine wherein Negro youth faces distinctive problems in their development as individual personalities.

Children of Bondage is not only of special interest to the educator, the social worker, and social psychologist, but it commands the attention of the American people, who at the same time they are demanding the preservation of democracy must determine what is to be the status of this underprivileged minority group within the framework of our political, economic, and social systems.

M. BRANSCOMBE

Men, Groups, and the Community: A Survey in the Social Sciences. By THOMAS H. ROBINSON AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY OF THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, COLGATE UNIVERSITY. New York: Harper & Bros., 1940. Pp. xix+965. \$3.50.

Intended as a text for an introductory or survey course in the social sciences, this comprehensive volume utilizes the basic subject matter of economics, education, history, political science, and sociology to aid in understanding "the ways in which men live together." Proceeding from an "airplane view" to obtain perspective on the factors that make up community life, the authors next analyze the functions to be performed in a community and the social, political, and educational organizations for their performance. Based upon the theory that social problems are due in large part to the breakdown of social organization, the nature and causes for the breakdown are discussed, with the author pointing out the way in which both private and governmental organizations strive toward the solution of these problems.

The authors make good use of charts and other illustrative material. A bibliography and list of topics for discussion follow each chapter. Careful editing and integration of topics have made a satisfactory framework for the factors analyzed.

M. C.

Housing Yearbook, 1940. Edited by COLEMAN WOODBURY. Chicago: National Association of Housing Officials, 1940. Pp. vii+296. \$3.00.

For several years the National Association of Housing Officials has been publishing the *Housing Yearbook*. Prior to 1939 this publication contained articles on special problems of housing, but apparently in response to a demand from its members the

Association changed its plan in 1939 and determined to devote most of the *Yearbook* to summary reports of federal, state, and local housing activities. The current number contains a 146-page review of state and local housing activity during 1939 and some description of plans for 1940, together with five articles on federal agencies concerned with housing. The usual section on the work of the Association and the directory of housing agencies are in the volume.

The most vivid impression which the reader obtains from the *Yearbook* is the comprehensive attack which the federal government during the last seven years has made upon the housing problem. When housing is mentioned, the public is likely to think only of the P.W.A. projects or the newer projects of the U.S.H.A. These have made a tremendous impression upon the people and perhaps more than anything else have contributed to the development of an interest in good houses for American citizens of all economic groups. But in terms of sheer financial magnitude the other federal agencies had a greater impact upon the general economic life of the country. By the end of 1939 F.H.A. had insured loans, chiefly on small homes, amounting to over three billion dollars. The member institutions of the Federal Home Loan Bank System had resources of four and three-quarter billion dollars. During its lending period from 1933 to 1936 the H.O.L.C. made over a million loans amounting to over three billion dollars on homes threatened with foreclosure; today more than 704,000 families assisted by H.O.L.C. are on the way to debt-free homes, and 135,000 others are making adjusted payments sufficient to keep their accounts alive. Under its farm purchase program the Farm Security Administration built over two thousand farm homes during the first two years of its operation and constructed twenty-five camps for migrant farm laborers. While the major federal residential housing activities are distributed among the Department of Agriculture, the Federal Loan Agency, and the Federal Works Agency, there is a good deal of co-operative thinking and planning through the Central Housing Committee, which is made up of representatives of all agencies concerned with housing.

In presenting this survey of recent housing accomplishments the Association of Housing Officials has rendered a public service of great value. However, if the article entitled "NAHO Reviews the Year" consisted of less narrative and more fundamental criticism, the value of the *Yearbook* would be increased.

R. CLYDE WHITE

The Prison Community. By DONALD CLEMMER. Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1940. Pp. 341. \$4.00.

This publication is a sociological description of a state penitentiary (not named), analogous to the Lynd's community studies, by a sociologist of nine years' experience in the Illinois Division of Criminology. The book is a study of the institution as a whole, unrelated to immediate functional needs and problems. This approach is a contrast to most social-work research, which starts with a problem and utilizes method and material to solve it.

The author has applied sociological concepts to prison "structure" and relationships as they affect the attitudes and behavior of the inmates. The precommitment environment of the inmates, the composition of the institutional population, and the organization of the prison are presented, followed by a description of prison life in such terms as culture patterns, dynamics, conflict, accommodation, controls, communication, leisure time, sex behavior, etc. The text includes accounts of prison life as viewed by the in-

mates themselves. The question arises whether a social worker would view a prison as a "community," even if deliberately qualified as a "*prison* community," since enforced isolation, coercive control, and sex separation may be considered only aberrations of social grouping.

The publication does not present enough new material to be called a major contribution to prison literature, but the sociological concepts have provided an understandable medium for describing prison life, and the author has gone beyond theory when indicated. Although it may not extend the knowledge of most professional workers in prisons beyond what they have gained from their own experience, it will be useful to practitioners in other aspects of correctional treatment, research workers, and students, as a general picture of a "typical" penitentiary. Since it is essentially a sociological dissertation, its value to social workers, who are primarily concerned with the prison as a treatment agency is necessarily limited.

HOWELL WILLIAMS

Ten Million Prisoners. By VOJTA BENEŠ and R. A. GINSBURG. Chicago: Czech-American National Alliance (R. Mejdric & Co.), 1940. Pp. iii+180.

The title of this little volume might suggest a volume in the field of criminology, but there is a subtitle which makes clear its place in the field of international relations. No one should be asked to read this book through. Not because it is not admirably done nor because it is not obviously well within the limits of complete veracity. It is another tale of the horrors experienced by those who were citizens and residents of a free democratic state which was betrayed by its friends and subjected by its enemies to humiliating and barbarous treatment. The experience of Mr. Beneš and his wife and children are almost beyond the limits of human endurance, and the story is almost beyond the bounds of credibility. It is, however, told in a restrained manner which, if possible, increases the respect felt for those who did so noble a task in building up the state of Czechoslovakia. To one who had the opportunity of observing that noble experiment that was Czechoslovakia the sense of its elimination as an influential leader in a democratic effort seems particularly tragic. What has happened so often when those who were poor and humble become rich and powerful has been that they take on the manner and conduct of those whom they have witnessed in the enjoyment of power and wealth and freedom. It may be a long time before the United States can estimate the contribution that assuredly will be made to its courage and self-reliance as well as to its culture by those who might never have been in a position to contribute in the same way but for the brutal changes in Central Europe of these past months.

S. P. B.

Men at Their Worst. By LEO L. STANLEY, M.D. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940. Pp. 322. \$3.00.

The author of this publication is chief surgeon at the California State Prison at San Quentin, "the largest penal institution in the world." The bulk of the book consists of sensational sketches of major crimes and criminals, and especially of murders and executions, based on the author's experience as a physician at the institution the last twenty-seven years. The real names of inmates are given, as well as photographs, some of which

are also identified. The book is obviously intended more for the lay public than for scientific and professional readers.

Dr. Stanley's description of the development of a modern medical program at the institution, including plastic surgery and glandular treatment, is of interest. The author objectively depicts the desirable social traits existing in the most hardened offender. He shows a commendable restraint in generalizing about prisoners, concluding: "I can form few conclusions about them as a group. I am only certain that each is a separate problem vital to us all" (p. 322). Psychiatric service is discussed only briefly, and other modern institutional programs such as education, social service, and classification are omitted. Apparently the value of the large, heterogeneous penitentiary as a basic treatment agency is not questioned; such alternatives as probation are not touched upon. Because of its restricted scope and the journalistic presentation of atypical case material the book will not be of marked value to the correctional worker. For the same reasons it will be only a limited contribution to public understanding of the treatment of crime.

H. W.

The Annual Handbook of the National Conference of Judicial Councils, Vol II.

Compiled by PAUL B. DE WITT. Newark, N.J.: National Conference of Judicial Councils, 1940. Pp. 143.

Social workers from time to time face some obstacle which reminds them of the principle of separation of powers; or, they are faced with problems growing out of the difficulties of bringing about changes in judicial procedures, especially in relation to the care of children, in the field of domestic relations, and in the administration of the criminal law. The application of the principle of separation of powers means the drawing of lines between and among the great divisions of government, the judicial, the executive, and the legislative. Now government is one enterprise, and responsible students cannot be satisfied with lines of separation that seem to result in isolation or in fragmentary administration. The judicial council, according to the English phraseology the ministry of justice, is the device that has been developed to meet this difficulty. The judicial councils have now been set up in thirty states and in Puerto Rico; but, of course, the judicial council movement suffers like every other aspect of our government from the anarchical organization of many of our services according to state lines, and so it has been found necessary to organize a National Conference of Judicial Councils. This second conference handbook contains, besides a directory of the councils already organized, a number of interesting articles and a list of publications of the various councils, an analysis of the personnel, and qualifications of the councils, a statement of their sources of support, a tabulation of their methods of work, and a report of the annual meeting held in Washington, May, 1940.

Social workers will find material that is of concern to them under the subjects of children and infants, criminal investigation, criminal law, criminal procedure, criminal statistics, divorce and other aspects of domestic relations, extradition, insanity, domestic relations courts, probation and parole, small claims procedure, and workmen's compensation. This little volume should be especially serviceable in the library of those schools offering courses on the law and social work.

S. P. B.

Applicants for Work Relief. By ELIZABETH W. GILBOY. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. Pp. 273. \$3.00.

The subject of work relief has received widespread attention in recent years, and many private and public evaluations of its administration have been made.

The author states that this study is primarily an attempt to describe and analyze the economic condition of those made eligible for work relief in Massachusetts, with some attention to their status before and after work relief was provided. The information was taken from the records of the Massachusetts E.R.A. for 1935. From twenty towns and cities in the state 2,180 cases constitute the main statistical sample. These cases are all families the head of which applied for and received work relief on the E.R.A. sometime in 1935. These records were taken from the active files in the W.P.A. district offices during 1937, which means that they had been on and off work relief continuously up to the end of 1937.

In a statistical analysis of work-relief applicants the author points out several of the fundamental problems in the program. Whether or not the information is statistically accurate, convincing evidence is produced to show that wages from work relief fall considerably below the amount necessary for the maintenance of these families. The income, property ownership, debts, and expenditure of income are analyzed in some detail. The mean debt per family is shown to be \$234 at the time of application. Expenditures were found to be consistently higher than weekly income by, on the average, \$4.08. These are only two illustrations among many rather striking facts about the persons studied. Although the sample is small, the author considers it fairly represents work-relief applicants in Massachusetts and also in many other industrial areas.

In discussing the question of whether there is a permanent relief problem, the author uses evidence from her own and other surveys to show that relief workers voluntarily leave W.P.A. to accept positions in private industry but that they are discriminated against on the basis of age and lack of recent employment in industry.

In the last series of chapters there is discussion of the question of a permanent relief problem, the relation of the Massachusetts program to work relief in other parts of the country, comparisons between work-relief applicants and the employed, and an evaluation of work relief. Although a number of interesting problems are raised, the conclusions drawn are not sufficiently far-reaching to be considered of much significance.

WILLIAM C. NEWTON

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
SEATTLE

Old Age in Sweden: A Program of Social Security. By HELEN FISHER HOHMAN. (U.S. Social Security Board.) Washington, D.C., 1940. Pp. xiii+305. \$0.35.

The capacity of the Swedish people for developing social forms and institutions precisely adapted to their circumstances has attracted American students of social administration for many years. In this carefully documented and eminently readable volume Mrs. Hohman has set forth the achievement of the Swedes in the field of old age security. She cautions the reader against a hasty application of the Swedish experience to American conditions, but in her chapter on "Conclusions" she indicates some of the transferable values which inhere in the Swedish system.

The Swedish old age security system is universal. It includes both the employed

and the self-employed, both industrial and agricultural workers. The pension consists of two parts: a prime pension and a supplementary pension. The prime pension is derived from a contribution which averages about 1.2 per cent of income and is paid for both husband and wife in the case of married persons. The supplementary pension is paid by the government, and the amount of it is determined on a needs basis. Thus, the old age pension is intended to assure a predetermined minimum level of subsistence. The country is divided into three cost-of-living areas (low, medium, and high), and the supplementary pension is affected by the area in which the pensioner lives. In recent pension legislation provision of medical care and housing has become an integral part of the security program.

R. C. W.

Social Security Taxation and Records. By CALVIN E. FAVINGER and DANIEL A. WILCOX. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. Pp. vii+649. \$7.50.

Written by a management engineer and an accountant, this book is addressed primarily to businessmen and is in the nature of a manual or guide to be used in complying with social security legislation. The book discusses records and reports which the federal government and the various states require and outlines the principles of social security accounting, giving specific advice on the preparation of these reports. Mechanical equipment is suggested which might keep the process at minimum cost.

In dealing with these topics the authors have touched on several points of interest to social workers. The cost to employers of maintaining the necessary record and reporting system is impressive—a heavy burden to be added to direct taxation. Furthermore, the complexities faced by an employer doing business in several states are staggering, owing to the differences in state laws and the widely differing demands of the state administrative bodies. The authors find it almost impossible to deal with the welter of individual state practices, yet this real problem must be faced by all large employers. One solution, the authors believe, is to have state forms modeled after corresponding federal forms. For example, many states modeled their employee information returns after the Federal Form SS-2a, with the idea that the carbons of these forms could be used to satisfy the needs of the state. In this instance, however, the form was revised by the federal government, throwing the system out of kilter and illustrating the difficulty of the plan.

Of further interest to social workers is the discussion of the merit-rating system for unemployment insurance taxation. The authors favor the plan and show that by a "spreading-the-work" system it can result in savings to employers. Some interesting calculations show the point beyond which spreading-the-work ceases to be a saving to the employer.

JULES H. BERMAN

NEW YORK STATE DEPARTMENT
OF SOCIAL WELFARE

Supervision in Public Health Nursing. By VIOLET H. HODGSON. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1939. Pp. 365. \$2.50.

It is fortunate, indeed, that this first major contribution in the field of supervision in public health nursing has come from one whose personal philosophy and professional

experience make her especially able to provide leadership in this field of thought and service.

In the first brief chapter the author establishes her thesis that the basic element in supervision is democratic leadership. She then proposes "principles and methods of organization and leadership . . . to clarify the framework within which supervision operates." All the major aspects of supervision are woven into a pattern to show the functioning whole of supervision. There are no frills. Practical problems are considered in direct and simple language, and principles are made meaningful by ample and well-chosen illustrations and graphs. Supervisors in any field of service will find concrete help here. In an interesting manner the evolutionary stages of the special supervisor are described, and a prediction is made that as general supervisors become increasingly well qualified the special supervisor grown into a consultant will disappear as such and become assistant to the administrator to serve as a "service analyst on nursing procedures."

A deep respect for the personality of the individual and an undaunted will to lead another to the discovery of herself characterizes the functioning philosophy of this book.

EULA B. BUTZERIN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Waterfront Labor Problem. By EDWARD E. SWANSTROM. New York: Fordham University Press, 1938. Pp. 186. \$3.50.

An able and important study in regularization, decasualization, and employment by a Catholic priest who worked among longshoremen and became an earnest student of the serious social, economic, and moral problems created by the nature and conditions of that type of employment. The book represents years of faithful labor and supplies much-needed information on a subject little known even to the friends of labor and champions of collective bargaining. What unionism has done, or failed to do, thus far for the waterfront; what lessons Europe has to teach us in that field; what the peculiar obstacles—apart even from the stubborn opposition of employers—are to effective and democratic forms of organization; all this the author sets forth in a highly judicious manner. Social workers and the schools that train them should not neglect this contribution to the literature of practical sociology and practical ethics.

V. S. YARROS

Houseboat and River-Bottom People. By ERNEST THEODORE HILLER. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1939. Pp. 146. \$2.00.

This volume is a co-operative study of 683 households in sample localities adjacent to the Ohio and Mississippi rivers—a study of living and working conditions in a river-dominated environment. It tells us who these people are, racially and socially; how they support themselves; how they fared during the worst period of the depression; how ingeniously they adapt themselves to seasonal and other changes; and what they think of their way of life and of the future of their children.

Many interesting and rather surprising facts are brought out, especially regarding community reactions, land use, and the prevalence of squatter sovereignty. Apparent simplicity, upon examination, reveals unsuspected and instructive complexities of behavior. Decidedly, a worth-while study.

V. S. Y.

Men on the Move. By NELS ANDERSON. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940. Pp. 356. \$3.00.

As one volume in the "University of Chicago Sociological Series," *Men on the Move* fulfils the requirement that it be "based on the results of the efforts of specialists whose studies of concrete problems are building up a new body of funded knowledge." The author makes no claim to research but draws his material from other publications. By selection and emphasis he builds up a picture of "comings and goings" with which he is not concerned so long as they are to some purpose and which constitute a problem only when people move without opportunity for normal living at their destination. From history and economics he draws the conclusion that "the function of migration in the economic and social development of the United States has been to balance population with the distribution of jobs and resources." Frontiers have been opened, new resources and horizons pushed back by the labor and sacrifice of people on the move and the public takes cognizance only when they become dependent as well as migrant.

Some discussion is given to the fact that workers now stranded in economically disadvantaged communities should move, but only toward the definite goals of a favorable labor market. "The problem is not one of diminishing migration but of guiding it so as to eliminate the waste of aimless and uninformed wandering."

The free use of names and pictures which are identifiable raises the question of whether such material should be treated with regard for its confidential nature. Simple tables throughout the text support its statements and emphasize that *Men on the Move* is fact not fiction. The book is of value for social workers, public officials, and others whose purpose is to mitigate the losses in unpurposeful moving, but its factual basis will give perspective to the employer of migrant labor who "views with alarm" the hordes which descend on him at the height of his season.

PEARL SALSBERY

NEW YORK TRAVELERS AID SOCIETY

Public Policy. Edited by C. J. FRIEDRICH and EDWARD S. MASON. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. Pp. 391. \$3.50.

This volume is intended as the first of a series of yearbooks to be issued by the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration. The thesis of the editors is that the increasingly important and difficult task of evaluating public policies requires co-operative analysis from a number of academic disciplines, such as administration, economics, history, law, political science, and sociology. Consequently, this book is a venture in collaborative evaluation, and the "public policy" selected for analysis by eleven Harvard professors and fellows in the new Public Administration School is the major theme of industrial organization and control. It is explained, however, that there has been no attempt to get an "artificial unity" in the work, and as a result essays on administrative responsibility and constitutional dictatorship are found alongside studies in the pricing of bituminous coal and the significance of governmental trust funds for monetary policy. It is difficult to feel that the advantages of collaborative analysis are secured or demonstrated by this process of gathering the results of unco-ordinated individual research, no matter how great the merit of the particular contributions may be.

For the social service field, principal interest in the volume will probably lie in Lewis

Sims's discussion of the growing field for social scientists in federal employment. He feels that for satisfactory federal service the primary need of the social service scientist is some supplementary work in public administration and a working knowledge of economic principles.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

C. HERMAN PRITCHETT

We, the Parents: Our Relationship to Our Children and to the World Today. By SIDONIE MATSNER GRUENBERG. New York: Harper & Bros., 1939. Pp. 296. \$2.50.

This book can be highly recommended to case workers, particularly those in the field of child care, who have been searching for an up-to-date interpretation of some of the more common aspects of parenthood. The author, herself a parent, writes in a simple, informal, and sympathetic manner, and throughout her discussion presents a point of view which is at once basically sound as well as rich in personal experience and sensitive to the needs of children as well as of parents.

The first chapter, entitled "The Early Months and Early Years," gives a common-sense interpretation of the early training and emotional development of the very young child, in which the author indicates her orientation to the modern medical and psychiatric concepts of the growth and maturation of children. The chapters on "Authority and the Modern Parent" and "What about the 'Cardinal Virtues'?" may be especially commented upon because of their clarity and the straightforward approach used in giving a reinterpretation of age-old problems. Other subjects which are discussed include individual differences, sex education, the use of money, children and reading, radio and the movies, the school in our modern society.

This is a book which is characterized by the keynote that children are human beings with individualized traits who are to be enjoyed; and that parenthood includes not only wisdom and knowledge and understanding but even more a deeply satisfying affectional experience that will give the child a sense of stability in a chaotic world.

LOIS WILDY

Statistics of Jews and Jewish Organization: Historical Review of Ten Censuses, 1850-1937. By H. S. LINFIELD. New York: American Jewish Committee, 1939. Pp. 64.

A census of religious bodies has been taken periodically by the United States government since 1850. This report devotes twenty-eight pages to a description and an evaluation of these successive enumerations, with special reference, of course, to the data relating to Jewish congregations. In addition, mention is made of supplementary sources of information, such as the Lyons-de Sola directory of Jewish congregations and other Jewish organizations (charitable, educational, etc.) compiled in 1854.

The remainder of the document is given over to five detailed tables summarizing the data relating to Jews for the years 1850, 1860, 1870, 1877, 1890, and 1900. Of special interest is the brief statement (pp. 24-25) outlining the plans for publication of the 1936-37 data.

W. McM.

Social Problems. By CARL M. ROSENQUIST. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940. Pp. 519. \$3.00.

Popular and scientific literature dealing with social problems is extensive. Within the last twenty years numerous attempts have been made, mainly by sociologists, to bring within the covers of a single book a discussion of some of the important social problems. The reader of such a book is likely to criticize it on one of several scores. He may deplore the omission of certain social problems which seem to him highly significant. He may, on the other hand, feel that an attempt to deal with so many subjects within the scope of one volume leads to inadequate and sketchy treatment of each. Or he may be impressed by the lack of a connecting thread as the book moves from one social problem to the next with no apparent reason for the sequence or arrangement.

Mr. Rosenquist's recent book on *Social Problems* is commendable for its lucid and readable style, its inclusiveness, and its use of up-to-date statistics and references. Because there are included a large number of the most significant, present social problems none of them are treated exhaustively. The material is, of necessity, suggestive rather than complete, and although the selected readings included in the short bibliography at the end of each chapter are among the best in the field, they are merely representative of others equally good.

Mr. Rosenquist treats social problems not as variations from a norm but as conditions or aspects of society which are popularly recognized as bad and which considerable numbers of people are trying to change. As such, the problems discussed center about the family, the community, and the economic structure. Mr. Rosenquist also includes chapters on ecological aspects of socioeconomic maladjustments, political maladjustments, physical defectiveness, mental deficiency, disease, neuroses and psychoses, crime, delinquency, and race and nationality problems. Although the author's treatment of undesirable and remedial social conditions is commendably broad, there is no transition made as he turns from one social problem to another. If there is a connecting thread, it is only that the social problems are all presented as the product of social change, understandable only in the social setting in which they occur, and remediable by intelligent social action.

Instructors of courses in social problems will find the book a usable text. Although the author maintains the sociological viewpoint throughout, he makes little use of the technical terminology of the sociologist, so that an understanding of *Social Problems* is not dependent upon a foundation in sociological principles or sociological theory. Anyone seeking detailed treatment of any one of the problems with which Mr. Rosenquist deals would not find this book very helpful. Yet, because of his selective ability and his clear, direct style, he has succeeded in setting forth briefly and comprehensibly the most significant elements in all these complicated and far-reaching social conditions.

MARY SYDNEY BRANCH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Major Social Institutions: An Introduction. By CONSTANTINE PANUNZIO. New York: Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. xxii+609. \$3.50.

Mr. Panunzio has attempted to "examine the wholeness of associated living," emphasizing the study of "normal and not of pathological phenomena," though this does not mean, as he points out, that we should ignore the problems of social improvements.

Eight "fairly well integrated clusters or systems of human activities" are discussed: the marital, familial, economic, educational, recreational, religious, scientific, and governmental. These are the major social institutions. Each of these systems consists of subsystems of concepts, usages, rules, associations, and instruments. Some subsystems precede their usages as in the case of the central concepts of Christianity, others follow the practice which brought them into existence as in the case of our monogamous marital system. Institutions are seen as "experience deposits" which are "the accumulation of ideas, customs, and habits of mankind as these become deposited in the totality of group behavior and in culture as a whole." We have thus an analysis of the great cultural environment into which each of us is born and by which each of us is strongly conditioned.

It is helpful for social workers to expand their perspectives of the world in which they live by seeing the culture we take so much for granted as an entity and a force in itself. When this is done we come to see our jobs, whether they deal with individual clients or with the community or administrative programs, by the parts they play in the whole. This is not to ignore the importance of the intricacies of psychological life; it is rather to say that our social structure—created through the generations by man—has come to have a strong conditioning influence over man, its creator. Mr. Panunzio thus gives an analysis of the so-called "superego" in which many social workers are interested today, but it is an analysis of this concept in its own right and not merely as an extension of the ego. The superego defines the social environment in terms of individual psychology. The concept of social life, as the social psychologist sees it, defines it as a cultural complex infinitely larger than man and increasingly independent of him. In this light we are helped to evaluate what we might call our Frankenstein relationship with society. The author does not discuss this because he is writing a text for students of sociology, but it lies between the lines of his book.

Mr. Panunzio ends his analysis with Dr. Ellwood's idea that civilizations need not die as they did in the past. The "development of the scientific method and scientific attitude within Western civilization . . . will tend to prevent, if not entirely to eliminate, the mistakes and blunders in social policy which lead to cultural disaster. . . . There is no inevitable law of decline or decadence in the cultural process." But even if civilizations decline and fall, culture goes on. The book is clearly and well written, and it contains a forty-six-page glossary of terms used. Full bibliographies are appended.

EDA HOUWINK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

REVIEWS OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Economic Analysis of the Food Stamp Plan: A Special Report of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Surplus Marketing Administration.

By NORMAN LEON GOLD, A. C. HOFFMAN, FREDERICK V. WAUGH.
Washington, D.C., 1940. Pp. 98. \$0.20.

In the midst of public discussion of defense preparations various voices have been raised to remind the American people that the best way to safeguard democracy is to make it work at home. Social workers should be the first to admit that there can be no real democracy in a country in which a large proportion of the people are poor. Of the numerous attempts made by the government within recent years to improve conditions for those whose scale of living is low, the Food Stamp Plan has been one of the most interesting and most favorably received. Until the publication of this study there was no thorough economic analysis of the Food Stamp Plan available. The plan has, of course, been given publicity in the press and, more adequately, in the *Consumers' Guide* of the Department of Agriculture. However, the present study, made by some economists of the department, presents the first really sound analysis of the Food Stamp Plan.

The report shows that farmers, low-income consumers, and food dealers would all benefit by the expansion of the Food Stamp Plan. It is well known that price-depressing farm surpluses are coextensive with a situation in which millions of American families are receiving inadequate diets. But the way in which the Food Stamp Plan has attempted to deal with this ironic situation is less well known. The purpose of the Food Stamp Plan is to raise farm income and to improve the dietary standards of low-income consumers. In the distribution of food surpluses it utilizes existing channels of food distribution. It seeks to achieve its objective by means of a federal subsidy paid to low-income consumers in the form of blue stamps, to be used for the purchase of specified surplus foods in any retail food outlet. As a condition for receiving the free blue stamps consumers are usually required to buy minimum quantities of orange-colored stamps, to be used for the purchase of any food product. This requirement maintains the normal food expenditures of participants, with the result that the surplus products, bought with the free blue stamps, represent a net addition to their food consumption.

In an excellent section dealing with the theory and principles of the Food Stamp Plan the authors show, by an analysis of the elasticity of demand for food products among various income groups, that the Food Stamp Plan, in

effect, diverts a larger share of the available supply of agricultural commodities from high-income to low-income consumers. To the extent that the demand of the former group is more inelastic than that of the latter, the effect of this diversion is to increase the combined food expenditures of both groups, which is important in determining the increase in farm income. Of course the increase in farm income depends upon the amount of the blue-stamp subsidy, the extent to which the subsidy represents a net addition to the preplan food expenditures of the participants, the elasticity in demand of medium- and high-income consumers who do not participate in the plan, and changes in marketing charges. All these factors are discussed in detail.

On July 1, 1940, the Food Stamp Plan was operating in eighty-three areas with one and a half-million consumer participants. Thus far, participation has been limited to persons receiving relief (including W.P.A. workers) except in Shawnee, Oklahoma, where low-income employed families are participating on an experimental basis.

The *Report* also deals with the factors to be considered in selecting commodities for the surplus list, with the cost of the plan to the government in comparison with the Direct Purchase and Distribution Program, and with the effect of the plan upon retailers, retail margins, and employment.

One of the most interesting sections of the *Report* to social workers is the summary of the study made in Dayton, Ohio, by the Bureau of Home Economics. This shows the effect of the Food Stamp Plan upon diets of low-income families. A study of fifteen hundred family diets revealed significant differences in the content and nutritive value of the food consumed by families participating in the Food Stamp Plan as compared with that consumed by their low-income neighbors not included in the plan.

At present nearly twenty million persons, including the families of W.P.A. workers, are receiving or are eligible to receive public assistance in some form. According to the estimates of this *Report*, assuming that 75 per cent of these people would participate if given an opportunity, it would cost the federal treasury about \$375,000,000-\$400,000,000 annually to operate the plan on a national basis for public assistance cases. If the plan were also to include employed families in urban areas with incomes of less than \$1,000 a year, an additional expenditure of \$200,000,000-\$240,000,000 would be required. A program to make the plan available to all those on relief and all employed low-income families (those with less than \$1,000 per year), in both rural and urban areas, would cost about a billion dollars.

A \$400,000,000 Food Stamp Plan would, by conservative estimates, increase farm incomes by \$240,000,000-\$444,000,000, depending upon the elasticity of demand for food by nonparticipants. This represents a 4-7 per cent increase in farm income from food crops.

The authors are careful to emphasize the fact that these figures are based on certain assumptions and that they are tentative and approximate only. But it

is undoubtedly true that if the Food Stamp Plan were carried out on a national scale it would provide substantial aid to farmers while materially improving the welfare of the participants.

The authors discuss the favorable attitudes of various segments of the population toward the Food Stamp Plan. One wonders, however, whether public approval of the plan is based upon true recognition of its two-edged value (raising farm income and dietary standards), or whether it may not be due in part to lingering dislike of cash relief and preference for relief in kind.

Forty-five million people in the United States live below the safety line because they do not get the food they need. Until wages and incomes can buy all the food the farmers produce and the consumers need, the surplus must be salvaged and routed where needed by schemes such as school lunches, stamp plans, relief food distribution, and even normal granaries. It is also very important, of course, that the American people learn how dollars spent for food can buy more nourishment.

This *Report* is clearly written, with numerous charts, tables, and graphs, and it makes commendable use of the findings of other studies in the fields of consumption, nutrition, and agricultural policy, notably the able report on *Consumer Expenditures in the United States*.

A competent contribution to the field of consumer economics, this is also an able analysis of a promising mechanism for dealing with surplus commodities; and social workers will welcome an evaluation of a plan whose effects are apparent to them in their work with families on relief.

MARY SYDNEY BRANCH

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Average General Relief Benefits, 1933-1938. By ENID BAIRD in collaboration with HUGH P. BRINTON. (W.P.A. Divisions of Research and Statistics.) Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1940. Pp. xv+89.

Averages may easily be misleading in any field, but in public assistance there is often special need for critical examination of a single value that purports to reflect standards of care. In the South, for example, the state-wide average relief grant may conceal wide and consistent disparities between the levels of aid extended to white and Negro groups, respectively. In such states as Ohio and New York there may be a need to break down the state-wide figures to obtain an understanding of the differentials between urban and rural programs. This report attempts to identify and assess such factors as these in so far as the existing data permit. The analysis appears to have been competently and honestly performed. Care has been taken to point out the limitations of the data—for example, that the relief in kind distributed by the Surplus Commodities Corporation, though of considerable value, was not included in the calculation of average relief benefits.

The data suggest that average relief benefits did not decline sharply following the withdrawal of federal grants for home relief in 1935 (Table 3, p. 12). One reason for this is that relief was discontinued completely in some areas, except for surplus commodities. If the divisor had included families dropped from relief in 1935 and retained only on surplus commodities, the averages would undoubtedly reveal a very different picture. Reference to this possibility is made in a footnote (p. 13). It is unfortunate that the table itself does not carry a footnote clarifying this situation, for there is always the danger that someone will quote from the table without recognizing that its apparent meaning is substantially modified by qualifications appearing elsewhere in the text.

In general the author's interpretations of the data are judicious. The reviewer noted only one instance in which a conclusion is stated that appears to be open to question. In discussing the decline in average benefits following the inauguration of the W.P.A. program the author declares that the drop is due to the transfer of work-relief clients and of large family groups from home relief to W.P.A. and that the lower averages therefore "did not signify a decline in relief standards and did not affect the allowances paid to cases remaining on the general relief rolls" (p. 14). None of the tables seems to provide adequate substantiation of this dictum. Those who remember what happened in 1935 will be disposed to think that the lower averages resulted from actual lowering of standards in a great many communities. It is true that in some communities the W.P.A. earnings of large families were supplemented by grants from the general relief funds. This practice would undoubtedly tend to depress the averages. However, the data gathered in spot surveys by such groups as the A.A.S.W. suggest that this practice was followed in comparatively few areas. In the main the surveys indicated that most jurisdictions did not supplement W.P.A. wages and that relief standards dropped because of a dearth of state and local funds and because of the pressure to finance sponsors' contributions in the works program.

W. McM.

Trends in Public Assistance, 1933-1939. Prepared by the DIVISION OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE RESEARCH, BUREAU OF RESEARCH AND STATISTICS, SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD. (Bureau Report No. 8.) Washington, D.C., 1940. Pp. vii+98. \$0.20.

This country is at last beginning to know something about the volume and cost of the basic social services. A comparison of this report, for example, with the document issued by the U.S. Bureau of the Census¹ covering relief in the first quarters of 1929 and 1931 provides a revealing picture of the progress made in the past decade. The earlier report gave little that was trustworthy or comprehensive. The present document gives an inclusive picture of the various pub-

¹ *Relief Expenditures by Governmental and Private Organizations, 1929 and 1931* (Washington, D.C., 1932).

lic social services with a degree of clarity and completeness that inspires confidence. Federal leadership in a field formerly reserved to the states is chiefly responsible for this great advance.

The present report, which contains ten charts and forty-two tables, provides data with respect to the following programs: (1) old age assistance, aid to dependent children, aid to the blind, and general relief in the states and territories, 1936 through 1939; (2) payments and numbers of beneficiaries of these four assistance programs in the counties or other local political subdivisions for the single month, December, 1939; (3) federal work programs and federal, state, and local assistance programs in the Continental United States, 1933-39.

Although the information thus made available is very comprehensive in comparison with earlier publications, the textual comment refers frankly to further improvements that are needed. Unduplicated totals, for example, are at present estimates only and, in the words of the report, are "necessarily crude." Obviously certain difficult administrative problems must be solved before accurate unduplicated totals may be hoped for. In fact, the goal may be unattainable as long as general home relief remains outside the orbit of federal influence. But even estimates are much better than nothing, for they at least give some idea of the proportion of the population receiving public assistance. They need to be supplemented, however, as the report implies, by figures that reveal the extent to which the various services fail to meet the complete need of the clients and therefore must be supplemented by additional aid from some other program.

The figures emphasize anew the now well-known fact that general relief is the stepchild among the public social services. In the last six months of 1939, \$2.22 per inhabitant was spent for the special types of assistance as compared with \$1.77 per inhabitant for general relief. In December, 1939, nearly 32 per cent of the expenditures for general relief were for relief in kind (including medical care) whereas less than 1 per cent of the categorical payments were for relief in kind (including medical care). In 39 of the 49 jurisdictions expenditures per inhabitant for old age assistance exceeded the expenditures per inhabitant for general relief. As the text of the report makes clear (p. 17), "There is no doubt . . . that the levels of expenditures for general relief after 1936 would have been higher, despite the development of other programs, if there had been no stringency of state and local funds."

W. McM.

Employment Security in Ohio, 1936-1939. Columbus, 1940. Pp. 73.

This report of the Ohio Bureau of Unemployment Compensation gives in brief the history of the development of unemployment compensation in Ohio. A chart of the organization of the Bureau is given, and a state map shows the location of local employment offices. One important section gives an analysis of costs of administration, collection of contributions, the handling of benefit claims, and employment service activities. The statistical Appendix is particu-

larly interesting because of the detailed information given by county and by industry. Table 15 gives a distribution of contributions and benefits by type of industry and reveals the fact that even such stable industries as banking and insurance have an appreciable amount of unemployment.

R. C. W.

Sixth Annual Report of the Judicial Council of the State of New York. (Legislative Document, 1940, No. 48.) Albany, 1940. Pp. 416.

One of the lessons we learned in the elementary course in civics dealt with the principle of separation of powers. Then we became acquainted with Montesquieu and were told that the preservation of one's liberties was dependent on that separation so that the legislature would devote itself to enacting laws which the executive would carry into effect and the courts finally interpret. In applying this principle the Illinois Supreme Court found that in Illinois probation officers could not, being judicial, be selected by the civil service part of the executive. In New Hampshire the court refused to administer old age assistance. Again in Illinois the court held that there could be no appeal from the Department of Public Welfare in its Old Age Assistance Division to the Circuit Court in the matter of the amount of the grant. Social workers have a very real interest in these theories with respect to governmental relationships and especially in doctrines that limit and restrict the capacity of the administrative authority unless the authority takes on autocratic and bureaucratic aspects from which an escape and appeal must be provided.

Of course, as a matter of experience, the social worker knows that the court must formulate rules of procedure even when this function has taken on the form of a code enacted by the legislature, that the legislature must settle questions of controversy which are essentially judicial, that the executive must promulgate regulations which are minor laws and determine issues which are essentially judicial, but the theory of separation of powers introduces the element of the precarious and uncertain. Who is quite certain what the courts will allow, and relying on outside checks the legislature and the administration become less responsible. The judicial council is, therefore, developing a place for itself of great importance in bridging the gap between the judicial and the legislative or between the judicial and the administrative. It is not a novel idea. Jeremy Bentham pointed out the need, Lord Haldane's Committee on the Machinery of Government elaborated the idea of an executive department (a "Ministry of Justice"), and, while the structure differs, such authorities have been set up in twenty-seven states, and gradually the artificial lines of demarcation will be obliterated and organic procedures will replace the artificial cleavages of the past.

These councils naturally vary greatly in their organization, their interest, and their method of presentation. Always as to structure or personnel there are

judges, generally if not always there are members of the bar, sometimes there are laymen, men or women. For social workers, especially in jurisdictions in which there is obvious reason for dissatisfaction with the administration of the courts, the selection of judges, or the actual legislation in force, the council may offer the basis of a constructive program.

S. P. B.

Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures, Vol. V: *Prisons*. U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. Leavenworth, Kan.: Federal Prison Industries, Inc., Press, 1940. Pp. 478. \$0.50.

This important governmental report about the "state of prisons" in 1936-37 maintains the constructive statesmanship of the preceding volumes of the survey of release procedures.¹ Part I is a selective analysis of organization and practices in eighty-eight state prisons and reformatories for men. Part II presents the program of the United States Bureau of Prisons, included in some detail "because the Federal prison system with thirty-one institutions of nine different types in twenty-three states has during the past ten years established new objectives in prison administration . . . of considerable importance to state prison officials since they find in the Federal program a valuable source of suggestions and standards. . . ."

The report not only gives a comprehensive record of prison programs but, of more significance, it analyzes and evaluates methods and redefines the function of institutional treatment of offenders. Recognition is given to the limitations of the prison as a reformatory agency and to the need for supplementation by a constructive parole period. Probation is regarded as the most hopeful method of treating the offender; imprisonment is considered the "last resort," unless society needs protection from the offender through segregation, or both society and the offender need the benefit of intramural observation and training.

The best that a prison can do is to examine and diagnose such an individual, carry him through the acute stage of his difficulties, and perhaps give him some training so that he may reshape his character, if possible, during a subsequent convalescent period in society. Men may gain a knowledge of new attitudes and skills in prison, but until they have had the opportunity to *apply* that knowledge under normal conditions in normal society, they cannot become rehabilitated in any real sense of the word. Thus protection, segregation, examination, diagnosis, classification, training become the functions of the prison; rehabilitation, the function of parole.

The survey found a "discouraging" lack of facilities for such observation and training in most state institutions for offenders, although a slow improvement was noted over conditions as disclosed by the National Committee on Law Observance and Enforcement in 1931. Idleness and overcrowding were the out-

¹ See the *Social Service Review*, XIV (March, 1940), 202, for a review of the preceding volumes: Vol. I, *Digest of Federal and State Laws on Release Procedures*; Vol. II, *Probation*; Vol. III, *Pardon*; Vol. IV, *Parole*.

standing characteristics of the cellular prisons, while purely work and custodial programs, with no preparation for release, typified the southern prison camps. Discipline was generally petty and tyrannical, and some type of corporal punishment existed in twenty-six institutions at the time of the survey. Modern treatment programs were unknown in about one-half of the institutions studied. While beginnings of case-work and training programs had been introduced in the remaining institutions, it was estimated that only 5 per cent of the population had been brought under the positive influence of individualized preparation for release.

Even in institutions with well-planned programs, including some of the experimental prisons, the lack of professional personnel frequently prevented concrete application to the individual inmate. Other prisons had one or more training programs, but of a general nature rather than related to the needs of individual maladjustments. The authors recognize that the decline of industrial activity in prisons must lead to new alignments, including the enlargement of educational and training programs and the expansion of diversified, state-use industries. They recommend that correctional information be made available to the states by the federal government. Creative evaluations and suggestions are given for many other phases of institutional treatment, such as custody, discipline, personnel, classification, medical care, education.

The report is a significant contribution to the field of correctional treatment, and its influential auspices should increase its effect on the systems dealing with the adult offender. It will be of basic value to correctional workers, research workers, and instructors. The sections on historical trends, administration and personnel, classification, case work, classification, and admission and release procedures are especially recommended to social workers in the field of adult delinquency. The material presented in this report indicates the applicability of social-work skills to the treatment of the adult offender, whether by probation, institutional care, or parole. It is hoped that individual social workers, professional associations, and schools will respond to the needs of this developing area of service.

HOWELL WILLIAMS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Prison Problem in Virginia: A Survey. By the U.S. PRISON INDUSTRIES REORGANIZATION ADMINISTRATION, 1939. Pp. 87.

Virginia has at the present an omnibus welfare department including not only the dependent groups and those needing mental hygiene treatment but "corrections" as well. This report, made by the Prison Industries Administration at the request of the governor, registers the definite recommendation that the correctional function be segregated and that a department of corrections be set up as an independent department with full responsibility for all aspects of

the penal administration. The removal of the various limitations under which the present correctional undertakings are carried on is strongly recommended.

It is urged that the proposed authority be set up with a board, given wide powers of initiation, and sole responsibility to the governor and legislature. The board should, of course, confine its activities to policy-making through antecedent formulation of principles and through review of activities, the actual administration being intrusted to an executive secretary or director who should be an experienced and able penologist.

The importance of the personnel selection and the reliance on a sound and honestly administered merit system is emphasized together with attention to adequate compensation and favorable working conditions, neither of which is at present characteristic of the Virginia situation.

On the subject of the actual treatment of the prisoners, conditions in Virginia are much less unsatisfactory than in a number of the states that have been studied. The prisoners do not wear stripes, the food is above the average, the prisoners are paid a basic wage of ten cents a day and may earn as much as twenty-five cents a day, medical service is available, but it is suggested that the medical schools of the state might find an opportunity for helpful practice in these institutions.

It is not necessary to review the situation in its entirety, but this notice calls attention to the participation of the federal government in the hitherto hopeless situation of prison organization and treatment of prison labor.

S. P. B.

Fifth Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare of the City of Baltimore, Maryland, 1939. Pp. 212.

The very index of the department of public welfare report of any large city reads like a roster of social needs, and the *Fifth Annual Report* of the Baltimore Department is no exception.

Here are found detailed reports of the work of its three main divisions—Public Assistance, Medical Care, and Child Care—each with numerous subdivisions. The statistical work, including numerous tables and charts covering the various categories of public assistance and the financial appropriations and expenditures is thorough and competent.

At least two types of departmental reports are possible depending on the use to be made of the document. One may be a bare accounting of the field of operation and its costs, while the other may be a presentation of the objectives of public social service administration in human terms, with the more incidental use of statistics to indicate the extent to which the department has been able to attain its objective.

The current *Report*, doubtless by intention, belongs in the first of these groups. It is wholly factual—with no attempt to present its material in terms

of human needs. Its style of presentation may be illustrated by the following references to the process of receiving applications for public assistance.

Intake is, of course, still the sifting section of the Department, rejecting applications that are ineligible and sorting acceptable applications into the proper categories. If basic eligibility is present, the application is sent to the proper worker in the geographical district for further investigation in the home. . . .

Through the years of its growth, the philosophy of Intake has remained unchanged. The burden of proof is placed squarely on the applying individual. It is his responsibility to submit evidence which establishes his eligibility. He is given detailed instruction at the time he applies as to what facts he must prove to establish his eligibility.

It is probable that a warmer reception is given to persons applying for or receiving assistance than is conveyed to the mind of the reader in this form of report, and for this reason, perhaps, the *Report* is likely to be read by few. Its use as an educational document is likely to be limited to a study of its data, which have considerable statistical value, and it can be recommended for such use.

The different types of activity, the number of people whose well-being is involved, and the cost of efforts in their behalf is thoroughly indicated. The *Report* presents no material to serve as a basis for estimating the quality of performance in meeting human needs, and little to indicate the basic concept of the City Department or of staff attitudes toward the people whose misfortunes lead them to ask for or to receive public assistance in any of the categories. However, one does find a careful evaluation of certain present policies of the department, which "bear most heavily upon the client," such as not supplementing wages of W.P.A., the basis for rent allowances, and limitation of possible A.D.C. and O.A.A. payments.

For its statistical value it is recommended, but as a story of meeting human needs its review is heavy going.

H. IDA CURRY

NEW YORK CITY

Annual Report of the State Board of Charities of Delaware, 1940. Pp. 28.

The title "State Board of Charities" has been applied to agencies with many and varied responsibilities in the different states where it has been used. In Delaware the "State Board" is primarily concerned with child welfare, although it also has a newly organized division for "Agency Relationships."

The Child Welfare Division is carrying out a program of direct care of dependent and delinquent children through offices located in each of the three counties of the state. The division is committed to the policy of having a professionally trained staff to carry out these services to children and has developed a plan jointly with the Pennsylvania School of Social Work for the training of "student workers" employed on the staff of the agency. This has been made possible by the use of federal funds for Child Welfare Services as scholarship grants

for persons selected because of their interest and ability. The problem of finding staff members who are Delaware residents and who are also professionally trained for social work is met in this way apparently to the satisfaction of the agency.

The *Report* shows the plans for the new Agency Relationships Division, which has been in operation only four and one-half months. This period is, of course, far too short to be productive of "findings" or recommendations and has been devoted to preliminary work in fact-finding regarding the several agencies and institutions. Delaware is not unique in the need for evaluation of existing agencies and for careful planning for the best utilization of the facilities in behalf of the community. It will be interesting to follow the Agency Relationship Division in its efforts to co-ordinate the available services and "provide humane and scientific treatment" for the dependent wards of the state.

DOROTHY CHAUSSE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Second Annual Report, State Welfare Board, 1938-1939, with Reports of the Twelve Florida Welfare Districts. Tallahassee, 1939. Pp. 64.

The notable progress made by the Florida Welfare Board during its second year of operation is made evident by the contents of the *Second Annual Report*, which consists of a general statement by the State Welfare Board, comprehensive statistical tables and charts showing the extent of the public assistance and child welfare programs and other aspects of the Board's activities, and separate reports of the various state departments and from each of the twelve welfare districts.

The Aid to Dependent Children program, which was not inaugurated until September, 1938, rapidly extended its services, with the result that the number of children receiving assistance increased from 87 in September, 1938, to 6,866 in June, 1939. The average grants per child were increased from \$8.79 to \$9.85 during the same period. The board's recognition of the value of providing assistance not only for all who are eligible for public benefits but also on a more adequate basis is demonstrated by the fact that average grants for Aid to the Blind and Old Age Assistance have been reduced only slightly in spite of the very large increase in number of recipients. In this respect Florida now stands out by comparison with other southern states and compares favorably with national averages.

In connection with its public assistance program the Welfare Board has appointed a liaison officer to work in co-operation with the state hospital at Chattahoochee for the purpose of removal of persons from this institution after recovery. Until this time many individuals have been unable to leave because of lack of funds or adequate plans for care outside of the institution. A total of fifty

such placements were made from the state mental hospital during the period covered by the *Report*.

Although there are many other achievements for which the Florida Welfare Board may be commended, it is of particular interest to all persons concerned with the advancement of professional social work and sound public administration that following the failure of the legislature to comply with suggestions for amending the State Welfare Act to protect public assistance recipients from embarrassment and exploitation, the State Welfare Board adopted a resolution confining the use of lists and case records relating to recipients of public assistance "to purposes related to the administration of state or local public assistance programs."

While this *Report* omits many things relating to lines of responsibility, jurisdictional relationships, activities, and plans for future direction of the program which would be valuable, it indicates sound growth and constructive leadership.

M. B.

Annual Report, Illinois Department of Public Welfare, 1940. Springfield, Ill. Pp. 926.

This *Report* covers the fiscal year ended June 30, 1940. It is the twenty-third annual report of the first state department of public welfare in the United States. It also reports the final year of the stewardship of the late Governor Henry Horner and his director of public welfare, Mr. A. L. Bowen, recently resigned.

Brief general comment upon a report of this kind, comprising nearly a thousand pages, is difficult. It is made up of the report of the director, the separate reports from divisions of the department and from individual institutions, and other special items. In all there are an even fifty different reports presented as a compendium. The annual report of the Illinois department has for many years been characterized by this lack of systematic organization, which impairs its usefulness to the student and interested citizen. Not only does the *Report* as a whole lack organization, but the separate parts lack uniformity. With respect to the ten state mental hospitals, for example, the managing officers could at least be required to prepare their reports in accordance with a uniform topical outline. A digested report, presenting the activities of the department as a unified whole in about one-fifth of the present space, would result in a more effective document, and the additional cost in preparation might be offset by the economies in printing.

Important advances were made in the Illinois Department during the Horner-Bowen regime. Improvement in the physical facilities and in the programs of the institutions was definitely accomplished. In the institutional field, and especially in the hospital sector, Mr. Bowen has few if any peers. His own report as department director is added evidence of this.

Certain parts of the *Report* stand out as good reporting and as evidence of fine public service. The report of Dr. Schroeder for the office of criminologist and the Institute of Juvenile Research is, as usual, outstanding. Especially valuable also are the reports of Miss Zimmerman for the Division of Child Welfare and Mr. Weigel for the office of fiscal supervision.

Among important new developments in the past year in Illinois have been the opening of the Neuro-psychiatric Institute in Chicago and the creation of the Division of Mental Hospitals, the superintendent of which is to serve as medical director of the state hospital service as recommended in a survey recently made by the Institute of Medicine of Chicago.

The predominance of the institutional program in the Illinois *Report* reflects the failure of the state so far either to co-operate with the Social Security Board on the Aid to Dependent Children and Blind Assistance programs or to place the state's own general assistance program under a permanent state department.

FRANK Z. GLICK

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

Second Report, Louisiana Department of Public Welfare, January 1, 1938—June 30, 1939. Baton Rouge, 1940. Pp. 75.

This *Report* outlines the statutory provisions of the comprehensive public assistance, public social services, and public medical care programs which have been built up in Louisiana since 1936 and the co-operation exercised by the Department of Public Welfare in the administration of the federal programs of W.P.A., N.Y.A., C.C.C., and Surplus Commodities Corporation. The historical developments in legislation for public welfare are sketched, with reference, among others, to Louisiana's poor law of 1880 and its supplement of 1916, Mother's Pension laws of 1920 and 1928, State Board for the Blind in 1928, as well as the establishment of the important temporary programs of the Unemployment Relief Committee of 1932 and the Emergency Relief Committee (1933).

The organization of the State Department is described, showing the general functions of the State Board of Public Welfare, which includes the adoption of policies, rules, and regulations of the department, and the selection and tenure of the administrative officer—the commissioner. Of the two operating bureaus of the department—(1) the Bureau of Public Assistance and Child Welfare and (2) the Intake and Certification Bureau—the latter was a separate administrative unit only during the last one-third of the period of the *Report*. The Bureau of Public Assistance and Child Welfare administered (1) Old Age Assistance, Aid to Dependent Children, and Aid to Needy Blind, plus Child Welfare Services, with federal grants-in-aid in accordance with the Social Security Act; (2) the state's Other Assistance category, which provided assistance to unemployable persons or families who were not eligible in the three Social Security assistance categor-

ies; and (3) the services for children, which are not included as Child Welfare Services, such as supervision of children in adoptive homes and licensing and supervising child-caring agencies. The parish departments of public welfare are briefly described, as are the parish boards which since 1938 have had the duties of advising and suggesting policies and are required to meet once annually or on call. The *Report* does not reveal the principles of administration on which were based the combination of the child welfare and public assistance functions in one operating bureau. Neither does it show the basis for creating the Intake and Certification Bureau in January, 1939, with five district-operating offices, sub-district and parish offices as needed, separate and apart from the local operating offices of the Bureau of Public Assistance and Child Welfare, which continued to be called the parish departments. The functions of the service bureaus of Personnel, Finance, and Research and Statistics are described. Although the Bureau of Personnel administered the merit system of standards for personnel, the standards which were maintained during the period were not described.

The legal requirements for eligibility in each of the four assistance categories are outlined, but the provisions of the model adoption law which was passed in 1938 are not given. Establishment of need was one of the requirements for eligibility in each of the four assistance categories. An interesting method of ascertaining need was that of determination of actual family practice and the use of a standard budget as a guide. The layman as well as the student would undoubtedly have been interested in the methods used to arrive at the family practice as well as to have known how the figures on family practice of the recipients compared with the standard budget figures for the same families in the various parishes. The *Report* does not give statistics to show the median size of grants in each category for any months during the period it covers. While this alone might not have been important, it might have been shown with the median of standard budgets for the same cases and their median incomes exclusive of grants for selected months, thus giving some indication of the adequacy of the grants in terms of deficiencies of family income and total standard budgetary needs. Furthermore, the criteria of (1) "need" for surplus commodities, of (2) insufficient income to provide a "reasonable subsistence compatible with decency and health" for W.P.A. referral, and of (3) income "insufficient to provide their basic needs" for N.Y.A. referral are not made clear. The policies of referral to C.C.C. are briefly, but clearly, explained. The types of problems on which the Child Welfare Services focused are mentioned only in the most general terms, leaving the reader with a vague idea of the scope and importance of that part of the department's work for the period. The "fair hearing" procedure is described, but there are no data to show the extent or results of its use during the period.

A brief statistical summary shows that there were 39,602 approved assistance grants at the beginning of the period and 49,669 at the end, with a total of 345,848 applications during the period, and total disbursements of \$14,846,030. More than ten millions of the disbursements were produced by the Gasoline Tax

Acts, Corporation Franchise Tax, Welfare Revenue Tax (sales tax), Luxury Tax, and Amusement Tax. Some of the disbursement items will probably not be clear to persons not familiar with the administration of the department, and there is no comparison of the costs of administration of the various categories and services.

J. LLOYD WEBB

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare, Massachusetts, November 30, 1938. (Public Doc. 17.) Boston, 1940. Pp. 172.

The administration of public assistance in Massachusetts received widespread publicity as the result of the *Report* (January, 1938) of its Special Commission on Taxation and Public Expenditures.¹ As this is the first report from the department since the findings of the Recess Commission were made public, one expected to see a large section of the *Report* devoted to those findings. This is not the case. Instead one discovers a very brief statement consisting chiefly of an enumeration of the recommendations made, together with the subsequent action of the legislature and the department.

The most important development was the enactment by the legislature of a very modified version of the "district welfare bill," granting authority to the department to establish district welfare organizations for voluntary co-operative operation of welfare functions by two or more towns. The districting of the state will undoubtedly alleviate the difficult supervisory problem involved in working with the 355 cities and towns, the administrative units dealing with general relief, as well as old age assistance and aid to dependent children. Over 230 of these cities and towns in Massachusetts have a population under two thousand. Other states will be anxious to learn what Massachusetts does with its pressing problems in the administration of public assistance.

The tripartite division of public welfare prevails in Massachusetts: the Department of Mental Diseases has responsibility for the mentally ill; the Department of Correction responsibility for the adult offender; and the Department of Public Welfare responsibility for public assistance, child welfare, and the juvenile offender. In the Department of Public Welfare there are three divisions: the Divisions of Aid and Relief, of Child Guardianship, and of Juvenile Training. Under the Division of Aid and Relief are six subdivisions: the Subdivisions of Settlements, of Relief, of Aid to Dependent Children, of Social Service, of Research and Statistics, and a Bureau of Old Age Assistance. An organization chart showing the relationships existing between the commissioner, the advisory board, the divisions and subdivisions, and the institutions would have been extremely helpful.

¹ See the clear and detailed analysis of the whole problem by Haber and Somers in this *Review*, XII (September, 1938), 397-416. See also this *Review*, XII (June, 1938), 179-204.

The *Report*, as in the past, is divided into three parts: (1) the "Public Welfare Report," (2) "Private Charitable Corporations," and (3) "City and Town Infirmaries and Statistics of Poor Relief." The *Report* of the commissioner is in fact a series of twenty separate reports from the three divisions of the department, their subdivisions, and the five institutions over which the department has supervision; there are also included briefer reports dealing with "Town Planning," "The State Board of Housing," and "The Infirmary Department at the State Farm." Such a method of presentation is confusing, fails to give a comprehensive picture of developments and trends, and leaves one with the feeling of not seeing the forest because of the trees. It is not surprising to find, with such a method of presentation, widely divergent points of view. Certainly, it does not appear that the state department of Massachusetts would agree in essence with its supervising inspector of infirmaries (city and town), when under the heading of "Recommendations" he says:

One of the motivating reasons for the enactment of the Old Age Assistance Law was the hope that it would efface from the country, the infirmary system of caring for the aged, but the enactment has had no apparent decrease in the number of infirmary inmates. *The poor under the age of sixty-five, and the non-citizen still have to be cared for.* [Reviewer's italics.]

In the calendar year 1938 Massachusetts expended a total of \$55,925,553 for relief: \$24,037,107 for general relief, plus \$1,840,443 for hospitalization, \$23,677,272 for old age assistance, \$6,257,714 for aid to dependent children, and \$113,016 for burials. Massachusetts continues among the leaders in the adequacy of its relief. In order to compare its average grants with the national average for November, 1938, the last month of the fiscal year, the *Social Security Bulletin*, January, 1939, shows the Massachusetts' average grant for old age assistance was \$28.59—ranking third after California and Colorado. The national average was \$19.29. The average grant for A.D.C. was \$58.55, ranking first among the states; the national average was \$32.14. The average grant for general relief was \$27.14, ranking fourth among the states; the national average was \$24.88.

Parts II and III of the *Report* are mainly statistical. There are ninety-five tables spread throughout the *Report*; uniformity of statistical presentation is patently absent. One questions the value of summarizing a table of fifty-eight pages entitled "Abstracts of Reports of Private Charitable Corporations," for under the caption "Service or Relief Given" to "Total Individuals," of the 4,857,100 "Individuals," one finds that 1,051,737 are animals, 811,650 are visits, etc. Animal rescue leagues, hospitals, social agencies, civic organizations, etc., are all lumped together without any classification except that of town of origin. A rather complete index should prove very helpful to the reader of this *Report*.

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A Report of Public Welfare in Oregon for the Calendar Year 1939. Prepared by STATE PUBLIC WELFARE COMMISSION. Portland, Ore., 1940. Pp. 88.

Somewhat misleading is the statement (p. 13) of the duties and powers of the General Welfare Act of 1937 as those of charging the Public Welfare Commission with the administration and supervision of "all public welfare programs." The four administrative divisions constituted are the Division of Social Work; the Division of Audits, Accounts, and Disbursement; the Division of Research and Statistics; and the Division of Medical Care. In reality this commission has supervision and administration of the public assistance programs with the addition through the absorption of the Child Welfare Commission of certain responsibilities for children's care. Thus a large part of traditional public welfare services are untouched—the state institutional programs for the defective, dependent, and delinquent groups.

A program for the blind, for example, can hardly be completely integrated or centralized unless there is some plan for co-operation between all services for this group whether found in the state school for young people, the blind trade school, or the program for financial aid to the blind. There is no indication of such a plan in the *Report*. The title used in 1938, *Public Assistance in Oregon*, would seem better suited than the *Public Welfare in Oregon* used in the 1939 *Report*.

Changes in financing of the general assistance program made in 1939 provided for a 50-50 basis between state and counties. The expenditures made directly by county courts or boards of county commissions for care in almshouses or county hospitals as well as for veterans and their dependents is offset against the counties' contribution for general assistance.

Statutory enactment changed the ratio of state-county money for care of the aged from 25-25 to 30-20 in 1939. The monthly grant per recipient has varied during the year only slightly within the \$21.27 to \$21.40 limits. The average Oregon payments for January and April, \$21.28 and \$21.32 respectively, compare favorably with the median \$19.37 and \$18.71 for all states making payments during these months.

A phase of the general assistance program for which the social worker would like more complete data is that of the population of the so-called "county farms" or almshouses in relation to the relatively high expenditures. Fifteen counties are shown to be maintaining such institutions at costs in some cases of more than one-half of the total county funds for general assistance. In one county the total amount of county funds was \$22,512, while the maintenance of the almshouse was \$18,283. The total amount of state and county money spent in the county was \$47,187. It is quite possible that some of these institutions serve as infirmaries or hospitals, but this is not indicated.

The 1939 legislative assembly widened the limits of the Aid to Dependent Children Program by extending assistance to children over sixteen and under

eighteen who are attending school, adding a total of 288 children in receipt of assistance from September to December, 1939. The net amount of expenditures for this program during the year (\$834,902) was contributed by percentages in the following governmental units: federal, 25.1; state, 43.4; counties, 31.5. Since March, however, the state-county participation has been changed from a 50-50 basis to 60-40 in cases above the amounts provided for by the matching basis of the Social Security Act. The Oregon payments per family under this program range for the year between \$39.02 and \$40.31. The January and April, 1939, amounts—\$39.02 and \$39.52 respectively—compare favorably with the \$30.61 and \$29.99 median for all states making payment during these months. There is nothing, however, in the Oregon report which aids in analyzing the degree of uniformity of payment between the counties in the state, the county figures being reported by total amounts.

With the absorption of the Child Welfare Commission by the State Public Welfare Commission investigation of adoption cases became the responsibility of the latter. A statute was passed in 1939 which provided for the licensing of commercial boarding-homes by the State Public Welfare Commission acting through the county public welfare commissions for both investigation and supervision of certified homes. The subsidy system still goes on in Oregon, and while the State Public Welfare Commission may base its approval for granting funds to certified institutions upon such factors as need for foster-home care, degree of financial dependency, and age of children, in 1939, twelve such institutions received funds totaling \$191,817. The amount per institution ranged from \$1,121 to \$48,969, paid on a per capita basis of \$16 and \$20 per month within specified classifications. The total amount granted (\$191,817) was more than one-half of the state participation (\$362,687) in the A.D.C. program.

Of the thirty-six counties in Oregon, seven have the services of a full-time worker under the provision of Title V of the Social Security Program. In addition to this, seven of the more sparsely populated counties use jointly the services of a child welfare worker.

A change in the ratio of state and county money for blind assistance was made in 1939 by raising the 25 per cent contribution of the state to 30 per cent and lowering the county percentage to 20. The monthly grants per recipient throughout the year varies only in cents round the \$25 range. The average Oregon payments in the months of January and April—\$25.35—compare favorably with the median \$20.93 in January and \$20.48 in April for all states making payments. While the Oregon statute makes granting of the aid contingent upon the acceptance of necessary medical care or treatment of the eyes and provides for the financing of such service, the statistics do not include any persons to whom "vision was wholly or partially restored."

It is hoped that the 1940 report will show in detail the organization and working of the Division of Medical Care set up in December of 1939, at a time when so much country-wide attention is found upon medical care. This division,

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working with an advisory committee of the State Medical Society and the State Dental Society, is responsible for the administration of general medical care and the services for crippled children.

Finally, the 1939 *Report* like the 1938 *Report* contains a good description of the administrative organization, a clear factual and statistical report of activities, and a commendable inclusion of the pertinent statutes. While it seems to indicate a sound administrative base with relief payments comparing favorably with the country as a whole, the social workers would wish for more—some analysis of the problem seen by the administration behind what appears to be a satisfactory state program and a constructive discussion of goals to be achieved.

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Second Biennial Report, Department of Public Welfare, Utah, July, 1938—July, 1940. Salt Lake City, 1940. Pp. 203.

The *Second Biennial Report of the State Department of Public Welfare of Utah* clearly presents developments of the biennium and recommends needed changes in legislation.

This is a department which has responsibility for all public assistance in the state, including not only the Social Security categories of O.A.A., A.B., and A.D.C., but also general assistance, foster-care of children, boarding-care of adults in institutions, transient aid, and burial assistance.

The *Report* is divided into two major sections. One of these deals with developments and problems encountered during the biennium in the area of legislative change and administrative and technical developments. The administration points out in some detail the inequalities in available assistance granted to equally needy citizens of the state. Two factors are noted: (1) the difference in the several laws regarding determination of need and (2) the system of earmarking funds in relation to certain programs. These factors the department believes to be a handicap in a fair and equitable distribution of assistance. Recommendation is made that legislative remedy be provided by which assistance can be given without discrimination to the destitute unemployed, the handicapped, or otherwise unemployable person as well as those eligible for the social security program. It is true that the administration is equally responsible for meeting the problem of one group as for the other, and we are glad to see the concern expressed regarding the inadequate provisions for the "unemployed and unemployable." The reviewer, however, takes the liberty of pointing out that any equalization which would result in reducing the assistance to those who have been placed on a higher standard of aid in order to bring up those of a lower standard is not solving the long-time problem. By concentration on

ore group at a time possible under the special provision for special categories it is hoped that all will eventually be raised to the higher standard rather than reduced to something less than the highest and adequate for none.

The other section deals with the fiscal and statistical statement regarding all types of assistance. In showing the development of each of the programs and the correlation of the varied services in the state and local units the material is both well selected and interestingly presented. The *Report* should be of value to both the lay citizen and the public official in gaining an understanding of the agency and its problem.

D. C.

The Pecan Shellers of San Antonio. By SELDEN C. MENEFFEE and OWIN C. CASSMORE (Work Projects Administration). Washington, D.C., 1939. Pp. 82.

In the past few years the Social Research Division of the Work Projects Administration has issued a series of reports concerned with various groups of migratory and low-paid seasonal workers that are of particular interest to those who have had to deal with the social problems involved. This most recent of these reports presents the findings of a study made early in 1939 of the pecan-shelling industry shortly after several thousand pecan workers had been thrown out of employment almost overnight following the substitution of machines for hand labor in that industry, and when emergency funds were being supplied by the Work Projects Administration to relieve the distress of these workers.

The immediate objective of the study was to determine the extent and probable duration of the relief problem precipitated by the crisis in the pecan-shelling industry. The study has a value, however, beyond its findings for this particular situation. As the authors point out:

The industry discussed is an excellent example of a low-wage handwork industry, and the problems it faces during a period of transformation to modern methods may give some clues to the problems other industries face under similar circumstances. . . . Their [the pecan shellers] problem, although more acute, is qualitatively similar to that of other unemployed workers who have lost their places in private industry during the depression period because of the rapid mechanization of production [pp. xii-xix].

For this reason the material presented in the report is more general in character than might otherwise be expected. The first chapter is devoted to a brief but comprehensive review of the pecan-shelling industry. The information included in this chapter regarding the attempts made to raise wages and stabilize conditions in the industry through the N.R.A. codes, the Pecan Shelling Workers' Union of San Antonio, and the wage-and-hour provisions of the Fair

Labor Standards Act deserves special mention. The following chapters of the report deal with earnings and family incomes of pecan shellers, working and living conditions, the types of relief available in the community, and the capacity of local agencies to meet the needs. The appallingly low earnings of five cents an hour quoted explain the immediate distress of the workers following their loss of employment.

The report concludes with an appraisal of the future prospects of the San Antonio pecan shellers. In the words of the authors:

Adequate relief is essential . . . but relief cannot take the place of actual employment. Nor is reversion to the handwork methods which prevailed prior to the passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act the answer. . . . The problem of the Mexican pecan sheller—can only be dealt with as a part of the larger problem of technological unemployment. This question is a challenge to the nation as a whole—to eliminate unemployment by increasing production, raising wages, and therefore living standards, and shortening working hours.

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Silicosis: Proceedings of the International Conference, Geneva, September, 1938. London: International Labour Office (through P. S. King & Son, Ltd.), 1940. Pp. 220. 5s.; \$1.25.

The problem of silicosis was one of the first problems to which the International Labour Office devoted its attention. Since 1921 every effort has been made to collect all available information on the subject from all parts of the world. In 1930 the International Labour Office sponsored the First International Conference on Silicosis, which convened at Johannesburg, South Africa. That conference established the fact that silicosis was unquestionably a specific clinical entity affecting workers in certain occupations; that it caused disability from work and therefore called for the adoption of preventative measures to reduce its incidence. Following the Johannesburg Conference silicosis became the object of intensive research and of compulsory compensation in an increasing number of countries. In 1934 silicosis was placed on the schedule of occupational diseases for compensation by the International Labour Conference. At the 1936 Conference the resolution of the government delegates of the United States of America providing for the consideration of another international conference on silicosis furnished the impetus that led to the convening of the Second International Conference on Silicosis at Geneva in 1938. The publication here reviewed includes a summary compilation of the formal discussions and the text of the reports submitted to that Conference.

The Conference was largely attended by doctors, mostly affiliated with gov-

ernment departments of industrial hygiene, and consequently most of the discussions and findings involve highly technical terminology and research objectives of little value to any but industrial doctors and those identified closely with the field of industrial hygiene. The general concern of the conference was in:

1. Recent advances in the knowledge of the *pathology* of silicosis, including the effect, if any, of non-siliceous dusts admixed with silica or silicates in the production of pulmonary fibrosis or tuberculosis.
2. Pneumoconiosis of workers in *coal mines* and of other workers exposed to *coal dust*.
3. Pulmonary disease (or disability) due to *inhalation of dust* in industries other than those covered by 1 and 2 (with quali- and quantitative estimation of the composition of the dust in question).
4. Methods and standards of early diagnosis of pneumoconiosis, with or without infection, including determination of the silica content of the blood, urine and faeces. Value, if any, of early diagnosis of simple silicosis in regard to the question of *removal from dusty occupations* with a view to the arrest of the disease.
5. a) New methods of *dust investigation* as regards: sampling, concentration, composition and size frequency distribution. Possibility of standardising these methods.
b) Intensity of exposure to dust and means of estimating it.
c) Possibility of establishing experimental criteria for determining the degree of pathogenicity of dust.
6. What contributions from other scientific fields are essential to the solution of the pneumoconiosis problem?
7. Determination of disability and assessment of the degree of such disability in pneumoconioses.
8. Prevention: (a) Initial examination of workers in dusty industries and methods and standards for it.
b) Campaign against dust in general and siliceous dust in particular.
c) Personal protection (by means of masks, etc.).
9. The specific therapy of silicosis and results of any investigations into methods of stimulating elimination of silica.
10. The most practical means by which the Subcommittee can assist in the anti-dust campaign (through co-operation with other organisations and individuals).

Discussionary hearings are reported on each of the foregoing points of inquiry and a summary conclusion is stated. Beyond defining standards of disability from the medical point of view the question of compensation allowances and legal provisions for a compensation enactment were not dealt with. No compensation authorities apparently were in attendance at the Conference.

The reports of such a conference on silicosis, by virtue of their being based on world-wide studies and observations, should be a valuable addition to any state industrial hygiene department's reference resources or to any industrial hygiene doctor or technician's library. As such, the reports and studies recorded are of certain basic value to the problem of silicosis and occupational diseases in gen-

eral. The reviewer, however, even from a distant conception of the Conference, cannot help being critical of the fact that the apparently very thorough and valuable medical findings of the Conference could not have been supplemented by a consideration of the difficult problems connected with the legal enactment of adequate compensation coverage for silicosis and a more thorough concern of the practical problems of hazard elimination in industry. Both are fields of inquiry for which this technical study should have served as a valuable base. If such had been the case, the reports would have been of considerable value to all interested in the total occupational disease problem.

RICHARD G. GUILFORD

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Conservation: The Child and Family in Court—Seventh Annual Report of the Domestic Relations Court of the City of New York, 1939. New York: Domestic Relations Court, 1940. Pp. 118.

Created with the long-time objective of conserving human resources the Domestic Relations Court of the City of New York has attempted to make conservation in its literal meaning an integral part of court policy and practice in dealing which children and families. Believing that "conservation is the highest concept of service rendered by any court" and that "such service is in harmony with the exercise of judicial authority," the justices and administrative staff have sought the most effective methods of rendering this kind of service.

This has meant the application of knowledge derived from the successfully tested findings of experts in many fields of inquiry to the practical business of court decisions, treatment of juvenile delinquency, or the preservation of family ties. This court has recognized the value of the vast body of knowledge and experience being placed constantly at its disposal and has realized that its application demands trained personnel, adequate in number, and the interest and co-operation of public officials and all welfare agencies in the community. This is demonstrated throughout the *Report* both in the portrayal of the court's activities and in its interpretation of the obstacles and deterrents to complete realization of the practical objectives of court function.

That is, the New York Domestic Relations Court is not only a court but a social agency, implemented by medical and psychiatric clinical facilities and a staff of trained social workers, which attempts to protect and preserve the children and families whose difficulties bring them to the court. The treatment applied is directed toward readjustment or reconciliation without the need for formal court action. That this is fundamentally sound is evident from the high percentage of cases in which adjustments were made or treatment effected without resorting to court action. Of the 5,867 dispositions of children's cases in

1938 75 per cent were serviced in a manner that obviated the filing of formal court petitions, and of the 6,522 dispositions in 1939 the corresponding figure was 77 per cent. In the Family Division during 1939 the Probation Bureau's intake section rendered services that precluded the need for formal court action in 14,365 out of a total of 24,466 prospective petitioners.

Instead of confining itself to a statistical description of the court's activities, the *Report* presents a number of authentic cases handled by the Children's Division and the Family Division. These illustrate the standard of work desired by the court, convey an impression of the range and quality of its services, and reflect vividly the processes and results of sound social-work practices.

This excellent *Report*, like the judicial authority whose functions and relationships it elaborates, is a landmark in the development of modern concepts of social treatment. It is a forceful challenge to judicial thought. It should act as a stimulant to the current trend that moves away from the traditional idea of the court as an authoritative body that imposes punishment to fit the crime. There is no reference to punishment in this document. Individuals coming to the Domestic Relations Court are recognized as being in need of special services, and the court considers that it is its responsibility to ascertain what treatment is needed and to see that it is adequately provided. No agent of force can protect a democratic society unless its individual members are assisted in making adjustments that render them competent to participate constructively in community life.

M. B.

Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1940. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1940. Pp. vii+238.

The reports of Secretary Perkins always contain a wealth of material for the public welfare worker. The excellent report of the chief of the Children's Bureau is noted elsewhere in this *Review*. But here also is the account of the expanding work of the important Wage and Hour Division, charged with the administration and enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act, which not only outlaws oppressive child labor in the producing of goods for interstate commerce but puts "a floor under wages and a ceiling over hours" for employees engaged in interstate commerce. The magnitude of the task is indicated by the fact that not less than twelve million, five hundred thousand workers are protected by this great act. The division has been active in trying to publicize the provisions of the act, and it is interesting to note that more than four million copies of the little pamphlet entitled *A Ceiling for Hours, a Floor for Wages, and a Break for Children* have been distributed.

In the account of his enforcement policies the administrator reports that

624 inspectors have been appointed and assigned to the field. What are called "compliance drives" have been carried on to protect the employer who complies with the act. That is, the division attempts to see that the complying employer does not suffer disadvantage in competition with subminimum standards. The implied promise of the administrator to the individual employer is "If you will comply, we will see that your competitor also complies." Some nation-wide "compliance drives" have been successfully carried through on this basis.

The reports to the Secretary from the Division of Labor Standards, the Division of Public Contracts, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Women's Bureau and the Immigration and Naturalization Bureau are also included in this important document.

E. A.

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